FBIS DAILY REPORT
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TURKISH TRADE MINISTER CONTINUES MEETINGS, TALKS

AU291937 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 29 Apr (BTA)--The second day of the visit in Bulgaria of Mr Kemal Canturk, Turkey's minister of trade, chairman of the Turkish side of the Bulgaro-Turkish committee on economic, industrial and techno-scientific cooperation, proceeded in business talks. After the meeting with Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, the guest was received also by Mr Stamen Stamenov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of metallurgy and mineral resources. During the talks they discussed matters of cooperation in the research, production and obtaining of some mineral resources and metals. The common view that the possibilities for relations in this branch are great, was expressed.

Mr Kemal Canturk also had talks with Mr Toncho Chakurov, minister of mechanical engineering. The guest was made familiar with Bulgaria's export possibilities in the field of transport and heavy mechanical engineering. Mr Kermal Canturk spoke positively about the future of Turkish-Bulgarian contacts in this field.

The guest emphasized to a BTA representative that the economic cooperation of Turkey and Bulgaria will be beneficial both for the two peoples and for the understanding in this part of the world. He added that his meeting today with the Bulgarian head of state, Mr Todor Zhivkov, has convinced him in Bulgaria's desire to develop her contacts with Turkey.

PASOK LEADER PAPANDREOU CONTINUES VISIT

Received by Zhivkov

AU291600 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 29 Apr (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr Andreas Papandreou, chairman of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).

At the talks which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, emphasis was laid on the favorable development of Bulgaro-Greek good neighborly relations.

Mr Andreas Papandreou who arrived here on Monday at the invitation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, underlined his good impressions of what he saw in Bulgaria.

Agreement Signed

AU291932 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 29 Apr (BTA)--Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Andreas Papandreou, chairman of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), signed a cooperation agreement between the two organisations here today.

The document manifests the striving of the Fatherland Front and PASOK to develop their relations and their desire to make their contribution to the all-round consolidation and development of the friendship and good-neighborly relations between the Bulgarian and the Greek peoples. It is valid for the 1981-1985 period, and is an extension to the agreement signed by the two organisations in 1978.

Tomorrow Mr Andreas Papandreou, head of a PASOK delegation here, will leave this country.

Delegation Departs

AU300837 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Text] The delegation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, headed by its chairman, Andreas Papandreou, left our country today. The delegation was seen off by Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front Central Council and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, as well as by deputy chairman and secretaries of the Fatherland Front National Council.

CULTURAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH KOREA

AU291559 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 29 Apr (BTA)--A cultural exchange plan was signed here today for the 1981-1982 period by the Government of Bulgaria and the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The plan provides for active cooperation in research activity, education, culture, health care and sport. Much prominence is given to the events to commemorate great anniversaries in the two countries, special emphasis being laid on the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state and the centennial of Georgy Dimitrov's birth. As planned, children from the Korean People's Democratic Republic will be invited to Bulgaria to attend the meetings of the "Banner of Peace" assembly. There are going to be organized exchanged visits of public, culture, education and sport figures.

POLITBURO MEMBERS MEET OUTSTANDING WORKERS 29 APR

AU291930 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 29 Apr (BTA)--Today at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia there was a meeting of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP with the best workers, farm workers, science and culture figures for the 7th five-year period. A long speech was delivered by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council. Dwelling on the excellent results achieved over the last five years, he expressed his conviction that the 8th five-year period will be much more fruitful.

Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized: The guarantee for this are the correct policy and leadership of the BCP, the solid unity of party and people, the high consciousness and heroic labour of the working class, the farm workers, the people's intelligentsia".

The speaker emphasized that the chief task of the 8th five-year period will be the all-round intensification of the economy. As main trends of intensification he mentioned the complex automation of production, the complex mechanization and reducing manual labour, the mass-scale transfer of the Bulgarian and foreign forerankers' experience, the implementation of the new team organization of labour in the industry and agriculture.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out: Intensification is to be carried out on the basis and at the level of the highest achievements of present-day techno-scientific progress.

He emphasized the necessity for the further raising of the people's political and economic sovereignty through the unfolding of the representative and direct democracy. The political relations should be improved, the unity of the social, team and personal interests should be put on an economic basis, and the workers' initiative should be developed to the maximum.

Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the BCP and the Bulgarian state will continue further to pursue their steady peace-loving foreign political course, will do everything necessary for the establishing of peace, understanding and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

We, Mr Todor Zhivkov, said, shall be consolidating still more energetically our all-round relations with the fraternal socialist countries. We shall continue the policy of all-round cohesion and deepening of the friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the CPSU in all spheres.

The speaker emphasized that Bulgaria will continue her struggle for peaceful co-existence among states of different social systems, for preserving and deepening the process of detente, for halting the arms race and for disarmament, irrespective of the difficulties created by the imperialist forces in the USA, in some West European countries and their Beijing helpers.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed: "We back up, with might and main, the peace programme of the CPSU and the USSR, worked out at the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses in the reports of Mr Leonid Brezhnev--the great peacemaker of our time which is torn with alarm and filled with hope."

Mr Petur Dyulgerov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian trade unions, emphasized that the working class, the entire working people, are firmly standing behind the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and are determined and ready to translate them into life.

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING CONCLUDES 29 Apr

AU291936 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 29 Apr (BTA)--The international session on techno-scientific research on the use of low-calorie coal ended here today. It was organized by Bulgaria jointly with the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

The session was attended by representatives of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia Spain, Italy and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

At the session experience and information was exchanged on the latest developments in using low-calories fuels for electric energy production. On Bulgaria's proposal a decision was approved to create a regional project on scientific research for the utilization on low-calorie coal and for developing technologies for their use. It was decided to organize an international seminar in 1982 in Moscow, at which to discuss matters of the complex utilization of low-calorie coal.

BRIEFS

LEADERS' CONDOLENCES--On 21 April Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council; Andrey Lukanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee secretary; and other visited the GDR Embassy in Sofia and expressed most sincere and deep condolences, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, on the death of Gerhard Grueneberg, SED Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 81 AU]

RATIFICATION DOCUMENT--Paris, 22 Apr (BTA correspondent)--Mr Milan Milanov, Bulgaria's standing representative at the UNESCO, handed today to the deputy-director general of the UN Education, Science and Culture Organization, Mr. (S.A. Tangyan), a ratification document of the State Council of Bulgaria on recognizing the qualification courses, higher education diplomas and scientific degrees in the states of UNESCO European region, signed in Paris in December, 1979. [Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 22 Apr 81 AU]

SOLIDARITY IS MANIPULATING POLISH WORKERS

AU291250 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 81 p 7

[Article by Karol Mikulka, RUDE PRAVO special correspondent: "Among the Employees of the Laziska Steel Mill; Where They Would Like To Take Us"]

[Text] A long line in front of a newspaper stall near the Laziska steel mill intimated that the car with the daily press would arrive any minute. Many people even got up early just to make sure that they will get their newspapers. The car finally arrived. Only a few yards away from the stall almost all heads were buried in newspapers.

"TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA publishes an interview with Lech Walesa today," says one of the readers. "Is it not enough that 'Solidarity' has its own weekly?"

"It is being published in a half a million edition. No wonder the party press is short of paper."

"The establishment of the farmers' union gives us a chance to concentrate on other serious issues." We read the "Solidarity" leader's reply to the question of the editor Ryszard Fedorovski about the organization's immediate objectives. "One of them must be, above all, the problem of halting the legal proceedings against political prisoners...."

Jerzy Kalisz, chairman of the PZPR enterprise committee in the Laziska steel mill, steered our interview right from the beginning in the following direction: Why does "Solidarity" interfere in matters that are not its concern? Assessing the extent of the guilt of Moczulski and his partners from the Confederation for an Independent Poland in accordance with the valid laws is a matter for the judicial bodies.

"They are beginning to beat the war drum again," he adds, meaning the leaders of Szczecin "Solidarity," who moreover decided to defend Edmund Baluka. After his part in organizing strikes 10 years ago and after other punishable offenses, he left Poland illegally. He returned in the same manner. He is convinced that precisely now, when the country is being buffeted by a crisis, golden times are beckoning him.

"It is unbelievable that people who are still being manipulated by certain forces within 'Solidarity' have not seen the light."

The Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA--in its interview with Zdislawa Rakowa, until recently a member of the regional "Solidarity" leadership--partly lifted the veil from the activity of the leaders of the organization. When she opposed moving the organization's seat, they did not want her among themselves any longer. Before that they had wanted a building downtown. When the so-called warning and general strikes were being prepared, they wanted to run away quickly into one of the enterprises. She called them cowards, spineless people. First they provoke a conflict and then they want to hide behind workers' backs. "We cannot permit ourselves to be manipulated by the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] people," she said on the enterprise radio to her fellow workers in the Pilmet enterprise. She was against "advisers" of the Kuron and Michnik type. She posed the question: Who gave these so-called advisers the right to drive the nation into destruction?

"Our party and state bodies must be much more consistent in safeguarding order in our country," Stanislaw Czembor, the steel mill's deputy director for labor questions, picks up the thread of the conversation. "[One has to] separate the wheat from the chaff. After all, it is quite clear today who it is that would like literally to eliminate socialism in our country."

In Walesa's union headquarters in Gdansk, similar "advisers" continue to frequent the building. They are precisely the ones who not so long ago called for a strike when one of "Solidarity's" chieftains was allegedly kidnapped. And all of a sudden, back he was again.

Walesa himself had to admit that although it was kidnapping, it was of a quite different nature. Their "colleague" was "kidnapped" by a young girl--in her apartment. "It was not too bad, but it's why I am late," he explained his disappearance from the "Solidarity's" headquarters. And again, a strike was almost on.

"Provoking a strike? That is not difficult at all. But how do we fill shops?" Jerzy Kalisz recalls the recent strikes-cum-occupations of farmers in Bydgoszcz and Inowroclaw. "People are slowly getting too weak to work. The lines in front of food shops are getting longer from day to day. And some people are going into politics instead of growing grain and vegetables, politics that have nothing at all in common with socialism."

In the latest issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, Cardinal Wyszinski himself came forward with spiritual "support" for "Solidarity's" further activity. His message to Walesa: "Sooner or later the time will come when 'Solidarity' will accomplish objectives in industry and in the countryside other than just social and trade union ones. You will certainly accomplish that. I bless your deeds."

"In our party organization, and this should at last apply to the entire party, one must come forward with a clear program. The program must include steps aimed at safeguarding socialism against those who enjoy seeing our country over an abyss," was heard in many variations during our discussion with Silesian miners.

"We are waiting for resolute steps to establish order and discipline at workplaces."

"There have been enough conflicts and tension which only deepen our political and economic crisis."

In the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA interview with Lech Walesa there was not a single word about work. But, of course, words about further demands were not lacking. And, in keeping with the leadership of Gdansk "Solidarity" on 23 April, the preparations for further negotiations with the Polish Government--or for further political blackmail--have taken on a corresponding appearance.

KOLAKOWSKI VIEWS ATTACKED AS 'FALSIFYING'

AU291405 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 April 1981 on page 5 carries a 3,800-word article by Ladislav Hrzal and Pavol Mestan, entitled "A Philosopher of 'Toleration'," which draws a profile of the "expert at falsifying Marxism-Leninism" and KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] member, Polish emigre philosopher Leszek Kolakowski.

In its opening passage, the article describes Kolakowski as a "ferocious anticommunist," whose views are "being used by bourgeois propaganda to influence intellectuals and working people in the capitalist countries but in the present situation, especially in the Polish People's Republic" and who "is giving well-informed advice and pronouncing 'philosophical judgments' on how to proceed in Poland to go beyond the 'existing limits,' meaning how to liquidate the socialist social system in the Polish People's Republic."

The authors then review Kolakowski's "revisionist" views as presented in his writings of the late fifties, characterizing them as marked by a "failure to come to understand the essence of Marxism-Leninism" and aimed at "depriving Marxism of its links with the revolutionary workers movement, with the Communist Party." In the next part of the article, based on Kolakowski's statements made in interviews for the French magazine L'EXPRESS (No. 1521-1980) and the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL (No. 37-1980), Hrzan and Mestan sketch the Polish philosopher's "transition from a revisionist to an anticommunist." They extensively polemicize with Kolakowski's ideas expressed in those interviews, especially with his arguments that Marxism is "intellectually dead," that communism is an ideology of "totalitarianism" and incompatible with science, that the only thing that makes it attractive to the third world is its simplified "messianic" message, and that it cultivates a "cult of violence" and destroys the human personality, sacrificing it to "some sort of a fictitious equality."

The authors dismiss those "anticommunist distortions of Marxism-Leninism," saying that they are "in no way unique and original" and "only reiterate what revisionists had been declaring a long time before him."

The concluding passage of the article questions Kolakowski's ideas in the context of the present situation in Poland: "What is Kolakowski's aim? What goals does he, and KOR, of which he is member, pursue?

"In his interview with a DER SPIEGEL staff journalist he spoke so clearly about KOR'S mission and role that the journalist, who cannot be suspected of sympathizing with communism, had to ask: 'Strengthening the destabilization process in the Eastern bloc--can such a policy be sensible?' And the philosopher of 'toleration,' who is accusing communists of using terror and violence, replied: 'I think that the West lacks a strategy on how to respond adequately to processes of erosion in the Soviet power sphere. And such a strategy would have to be based on the proposition that substantial changes in the political system of East Europe are a prerequisite for an economic remedy.' (DER SPIEGEL, No. 37-1980)

"Thus Kolakowski's aim is substantial political change in the political system of the whole of East Europe. How does he envisage its implementation? Could it be with sword and fire? The DER SPIEGEL staff journalist understood very well what prospects can be anticipated if such contemplations are carried out to the end and replied quite unambiguously: 'This is playing with fire!' The tactics to which this philosopher of "toleration' is inciting the Poles are evident. His aim is to exert constant social pressure to eliminate 'Leninism as the extreme form of totalitarian socialism.' According to the views and recommendations of this anticommunist, the Poles should live in 'constant tension and fear,' in a 'permanent conflict.' Allegedly that will make it possible for the opposition to go beyond the 'existing limits.'

"Who is served by this cold war crusade, who is its beneficiary? The Polish people, the Polish nation? No! The philosopher of 'toleration' is a sounding board for the most reactionary and darkest forces in the world, who view peace and the Soviet Union's and all peace-loving forces' policy of peace as the greatest danger. Kolakowski is one of those trying, as the latest PZPR Central Committee session pointed out, to move developments in the direction of counterrevolution. It has been shown once again that revisionism quite inevitably leads to anticommunism."

SOVIET REPORT OF WESTERN CONCERN FOR POLAND CITED

LD291456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] A new wave of the artificially fuelled campaign expressing hypocritical concern and--in keeping with the appropriate rules--full of intrigue that is stirring up with renewed vigor the specter of Soviet intervention in Poland has started in the West. This is pointed out by the Soviet daily [as heard] LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

What has in fact happened? What is the West concerned about? Poland is allegedly in danger because Leonid Brezhnev went to Prague, because at the 16th CPCZ Congress Gustav Husak said the same things which Stanislaw Kania had said 6 months earlier at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee session and which were confirmed on 5 December 1980 at the meeting of the highest party and state representatives of the Warsaw Pact member countries in Moscow. Poland has been and will continue to be a socialist country, a firm link in the socialist community and it can rely on the fraternal help and support of the Warsaw Pact member states in its defense of constitutional and state order.

The organizers of this new campaign need the specter of an alleged threat of Soviet intervention in Poland to divert attention from their own interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA points out. The paper recalls that the anticommunist campaign connected with the events in Poland is basically designed to suppress the resistance of the popular masses against NATO's so-called missile rearmament in Western Europe. The fabrication about the danger of Soviet intervention is aimed at silencing the movement which is opposed to the deployment of American missiles in West Europe and also aimed at causing a split in Poland.

At the conclusion of the article published by the Soviet weekly, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, the paper emphasizes: The danger to Europe does not come from the Soviet Union, nor from the other socialist countries, but from the American missiles and from the U.S. line against detente.

USSR DEFENSE INDUSTRY MINISTER'S VISIT REPORTED

AU291307 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 81 p 2

[CTK, "ZR"-signed report: "A Cooperation Protocol"]

[Text] Prague, 27 April (CTK, ZR)--Army Gen Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense, met Pavel Finogenov, USSR minister of defense industry, on Monday.

The talks, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, were attended by Jaroslav Kovacik, CSSR deputy minister of general engineering. Maj Gen Yuriy Chelpanov, military and air attache at the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, and Spartak Plaksin, counselor at the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, were also present.

Minister Pavel Finogenov and Pavol Bahyl, CSSR minister of general engineering, signed a protocol on economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

On the same day the Soviet guest concluded his 1-week stay in the CSSR and departed for home.

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY SPRING SESSION TO OPEN 30 APRIL

LD291350 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, announced today in a letter addressed to the Presidium of the Federal Assembly, that in accordance with Chapter 61 of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, he will convene the spring session of the Federal Assembly on 30 April, 1981.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG--A protocol on mutual cooperation was signed at the close of a session of a mixed Czechoslovak-Belgium-Luxembourg commission in Prague on 16 April. The document is the basis for the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the Belgian-Luxembourg economic union. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Apr 81 p 2 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH NICARAGUAN TU'S--The delegation of the Sandinist Federation of the Working People of Nicaragua (CST), led by Olga Aviles Lopez, CST secretary for international contacts, which paid a visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO], left Prague 17 April. At the close of the visit URO secretary Viliam Kozik and Olga Aviles Lopez signed an agreement on cooperation between the URO and the CST. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 81 p 2 AU]

NATIONAL FRONT COUNCIL ELECTION APPEAL ISSUED

AU291921 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Apr 81 p 1

["Election appeal of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR"--Berlin 27 April 1981]

[Text] Dear citizens, on 14 June 1981 we will elect the People's Chamber of the GDR, the city assembly of our capital Berlin, and the bezirk assemblies. We will elect the deputies, citizens of our trust, who will represent our interests in the coming 5 years.

We can go to the elections with pride and optimism: The 10th SED Congress has drawn up a great, impressive balance sheet. Its decisions point the way to a secure future. The goal is and will remain:

--Everything for the benefit of the people!
--Everything for implementation of the main task, for the unity of economic and social policy!
--Everything for the further strengthening of our socialist fatherland!
--Everything for the strengthening of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, for international solidarity!
--Everything for the safeguarding of peace!

This policy complies with the interests of the entire people. The parties and mass organizations united in the National Front fully endorse it. We declare: That is our election program!

Results of Joint Work

Behind us there is the most successful 5-year period in the history of our republic. In the coming weeks we will account for what we have accomplished in this election period. In a great democratic people's discussion we will debate how we want to implement the future tasks.

Our GDR is politically stable and economically strong as never before. As a result of a prudent and correct policy, of the work performed by us all, it enjoys a high reputation and international prestige. In the past 5 years we have proved in life that socialism is capable of implementing the unity of economic and social policy even under complicated international conditions. Whoever takes a look around in today's world will find that that is a historical achievement!

Our national economy was characterized by a constantly high, steady growth of performance. We have achieved the hghest economic overall results to date. Thus we created the prerequisites for further raising the material and cultural living standard of all citizens.

The working people's real income has increased. Benefits from the social funds--what we call the "second pay envelope"--have also substantially increased.

The results of our housing construction program, which is and will remain the centerpiece of our social policy, have made themselves felt for millions. More apartments, schools, kindergartens, nurseries, and cultural, sports and recreation institutions have been built than in any preceding 5-year period. Our towns and local communities have become more comfortable. Historical buildings have been restored, our historical heritage is being fostered with loving care.

The establishment of the 10-grade general polytechnic secondary school was completed. Equal education chances for all children has become reality in our country. Public health and social welfare services were expanded. Culture and arts continued to flourish, giving us joy and self-assurance.

Special attention was paid to mothers and working women, children and the veterans of work. In this period we introduced the baby year. Old-age pensions were raised several times. Life has become fuller and more beautiful for all of us.

On the foundation of the ideals of the workers class the moral-political unity of the people has been further strengthened. Our achievements are being reliably protected.

Peace was preserved and defended for another 5-year period. To that, we have made our contribution by universally strengthening the GDR, and by our active role in the international arena.

All in all: people's prosperity and full employment, economic growth and stability, social security and safety--these are the facts of our life.

In the capitalist countries the facts look different: the deepest crisis in the past 50 years, an army of many millions of jobless, declining growth rates of production accompanied by rising inflation, fear of losing one's economic existence and moral decay.

Our balance sheet--at the enterprise, in our residential area, in our family--confirms: good work is worthwhile. The country's wealth belongs to the people. Because we accomplish something, we can afford something.

What we have accomplished for ourselves is the creative joint work of millions, of the workers, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia, the artisans and small businessmen, the soldiers, of men and women, young and old.

All parties and mass organizations united in the democratic bloc and in the national front have made their contribution to progress in our society.

To Further Advance Along Our Good Path

Under the leadership of the workers class and its party we are continuing to advance along our good path. Our action and all our strength for the further shaping of the developed socialist society!

The working people's reply to the report submitted to the 10th party congress of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee general secretary, to the 10th party congress are new initiatives for continuing socialist competition.

Under the slogan "High performance growth through rising labor productivity, effectiveness and quality--everything for the benefit of the people and for peace!", we are called upon to give our best in every sector of our social life! Thus we are making further headway!

The criterion of work are the 10 key points of economic strategy that have been adopted by the 10th SED Congress:

--For new steps to combine the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution;
--For constantly rising labor productivity;
--For better utilization and refinement of raw materials and fuels;
--For high quality production;
--For increasing effectiveness of labor;
--For comprehensive rationalization;
--For prudent investments;
--For more and better consumer goods;
--For high dynamics of social production and national income;
--For intensively expanded reproduction.

To consistently implement this economic strategy means continuation of the unity of economic and social policy in the 1980's, it means safeguarding the material and cultural living standard of the citizens that has been achieved, and its gradual further development.

Our work, the initiative of all social forces of our people, the workers and cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia, of all working people are devoted to this policy. We are relying on the deeds of youth. With the initiative "beautify our cities and villages--join in!", the National Front committees have made a worthy contribution to our people's initiative.

Nothing we do is done for its own sake. Everything we do serves man.

To participate in working, planning and governing--that is in our country the right and the duty of every citizen. That is socialist democracy in action!

The Most Important Thing Is Peace

Peace remains the most important prerequisite for everything we plan today and in the future. To preserve, strengthen and protect peace is the vital issue for mankind.

We passionately support the peace proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress. We set against the course of the aggressive forces of imperialism, aimed at confrontation and intensified armament, our clear-cut policy of peace and detente, arms limitation and disarmament.

Despite all imperialist machinations the balance of power in the world is further changing in our favor, and the movement for peace, social progress, democracy, national independence and socialism is growing. In the 1980's it must be possible, in the interest of all peoples, to ward off the danger of a nuclear disaster.

The more we strengthen socialism, the better it is for peace. The more secure peace is the better to build socialism and communism.

Profession of Allegiance and Deed

We profess allegiance to our socialist fatherland, the GDR. We will not allow anyone to touch it. We are vigilant. We protect it with our lives. Here the sacrificial struggle of the revolutionary workers movement, of the German antifascists and all progressive traditions of our people find their homestead and their fulfillment.

We profess allegiance to the power of the workers and peasants. It is the guarantor of our progress. It guarantees freedom, democracy and human rights. In our socialist state everyone, irrespective of social origin, world outlook and religion, occupies a respected place. Here everyone possesses secure prospects. Here creative cooperation, the fruitful togetherness of all citizens, has become an everyday practice.

We profess allegiance to the firm friendship and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and with all countries of the socialist community. Our time-tested militant alliance, our collaboration in CEMA, in the Warsaw Pact and the socialist military coalition is the basis of our successes.

We profess allegiance to proletarian internationalism, to the solidarity with those peoples who liberated themselves from imperialist exploitation and oppression, as well as all forces that are struggling for freedom, independence and a life worthy of human beings.

We profess allegiance to the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. It is the only alternative to the imperialist course of aggression.

Our Vote for the Tested Citizens From Our Ranks

In a free, general, equal and secret ballot we will elect on 14 June deputies who we know will act in accordance with our wishes in the GDR People's Chamber, in the City Assembly of our capital, Berlin, and in the bezirk assemblies. They will represent our interests:

Proposed by the parties and mass organizations of the democratic bloc, examined by their work collectives and by their fellow citizens, united on the joint list of the National Front, the candidates are women, men and young people who are experienced in life and who have placed their work in the service of our joint socialist cause.

Our deputies--they are the tested representatives of the people. They deserve the trust and the unanimous allegiance of all voters.

To these candidates, our votes!

For the further strengthening and flourishing of our socialist fatherland!

For the well-being and happiness of the people!

Vote on 14 June for the candidates of the National Front of the GDR!

Berlin, 27 April 1981

POSITIVE REACTION TO U.S. EMBARGO HALT VIEWED

DW291157 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1405 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Rudolf Wahode commentary]

[Text] International reaction to the lifting of the U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union is overwhelmingly positive. In most cases the United States' ill-advised and harmful stance once again meets with strong criticism. Rudolf Wahode deals with some of the viewpoints expressed in this respect:

Though the lifting of the grain embargo against the Soviet Union had long been expected in Western industrial states, the decision made by the U.S. Government has triggered considerable reaction, which is not marked by surprise but by a critical review of a basically useless action. Like before, prior to Washington's announcement of the boycott this time, too, no serious consultations were held with the EC states, Japan, Canada and others.

Once again the United States acted as it saw fit and it dissociated itself from the embargo only when it was actually compelled to take such a step owing to the plight of the American farmers. Thousands of agricultural enterprises were faced with bankruptcy in the grain centers of the United States, because they were not allowed, on the order of their government, to carry out deliveries contractually agreed upon with the USSR. Suppliers from other countries stepped into the breach and U.S. agriculture was more and more endangered to lose the Soviet market for a long time to come. Washington, after all, had discredited itself as an unreliable trade partner. In fact, voices can be heard in the United States today which openly express the apprehension that the Soviet Union now might give preference to other supplier countries. Besides, it is being assumed that grain imports for 1981 to a large degree already might have been met anyhow.

After all these experiences it is only understandable that information media in the partner countries of the United States now increasingly deal with the aspects of East-West trade. Under the headline "Embargo Logic" FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in the FRG writes: "If the charge should be raised against the Europeans again that they are stabbing the Americans in the back because they support the Soviet Union by their trade with the East, then Western Europe may well ignore the charge."

People in Brussels, by the way, must be very glad that the unpleasant embargo issue is off the table. France will be in a position to supply the USSR with the requested 600,000 tons of grain and chances for the implementation of other projects have become better as well.

Such considerations are being made in government and economic quarters of Japan, too, which after the lifting of the American embargo proceeded from the premise that one of the negative factors thereby has been removed. At the same time, it can be gathered from this that Tokyo is interested in participating in the exploitation of Soviet energy resources. Japan, for instance, wants to find out what West European countries are going to do with regard to financial support to the construction of a Soviet-natural gas pipeline which would run from Siberian deposits to Japan. As of 1981 roughly 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas are to be pumped annually to Western Europe from the same deposits.

What is known up to now is that apart from the FRG and France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland as well want to partake in the project. But final agreements are still pending. Implementation of this large-scale deal undoubtedly would carry considerable political weight far beyond the economic aspects, because political detente thereby would be placed on a solid material basis.

Seen in this light, it must be welcomed that after the lifting of the U.S. embargo readiness for an expansion of East-West trade is being expressed in Western industrial states.

CORRESPONDENT COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S CONGRESS SPEECH

DW291000 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0905 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Horst Kaeubler Washington dispatch]

[Text] The honeymoon, the closed season of the first 100 days conceded to a U.S. President after his election, dear listeners, expires today. Since indications are increasing that President Reagan's program of economic renewal will become the subject of intensified controversies, he addressed both houses of Congress late in the evening, at 2100 U.S. time, to urge congressmen, Republicans and Democrats alike, to support his economic policy.

In his speech lasting about 20 minutes, the U.S. President admitted that it had not been possible during the half year of the Reagan administration to change anything about the economic dilemma in which the United States finds itself today. Inflation continues to show a two-digit rate. Eight million Americans continue to be without a job. The average income of an American worker family is lower than it was 6 months ago. The interest rates for credits still amount to 15 percent, so that it is inconceivable for the American family to gain possession of a home of its own.

President Reagan declared: We are aware that there cannot be a rapid cure, considering the extent of the American economic ailment. Headway can be made only in terms of millimeters and centimeters, but not in kilometers. Reagan warned Congress, which will decide on the adoption or rejection of the economic program in the near future, that not acting can only make the problems of U.S. society more painful.

But putting Reagan's economic program into practice, dear listeners, is causing more and more doubts to arise. This program demands very large cuts in the social sector of nearly $50 billion in the next fiscal year in order to balance the chronic deficits in the U.S. budget. At the very time when Americans are asked to tighten their belts, the administration hikes the arms expenditures by an unprecedented degree from $178 billion to $222 billion for the purpose of intervening militarily whenever vital U.S. interests are in jeopardy anywhere in the oil region of the Persian Gulf.

The upshot of this economic program is supposed to be a renewed America whose chronic problems as described by the president--deficits, indebtedness, unemployment, inflation--are cured.

Looking at this hour at the city of Boston which has a million people and which is in such a financial crisis that it lacks the funds to keep the schools open for the 65,000 children until the beginning of the summer vacations, one can understand why doubts exist about the success of the President's economic policy even in congress.

More than ever before it is becoming evident that even the strongest power in the capitalist world is no longer capable today of withdrawing gigantic sums of money to be spent for armament without inflicting serious chronic harm on society. It is impossible to tell to what extent the appearance of the U.S. President succeeded in exerting influence on the feelings in Congress, but the social conflict inherent in this economic policy remains.

BUCHAREST MAYOR PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT TO EAST BERLIN

AU291920 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Apr (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the Bucharest municipality, led by Gheorghe Pana, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Committee of the RCP, mayor-general of the Romanian capital city, paid a visit of friendship to Berlin, at the invitation of the Berlin regional committee of the SUPG and of the Berlin town hall.

The delegation had talks at the Berlin party regional committee with Konrad Naumann, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG, first secretary of the party regional committee, and at the Berlin townhall, with Erhard Krack, mayor-general of the city. On the occasion, they evoked the ever upward course of the relations of friendship and multilateral collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, in the spirit of the talks and understandings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker.

The members of the delegation visited industrial and farm units, building sites, social and cultural objectives in Berlin.

The talks conducted in a warm, friendly atmosphere occasioned a fruitful exchange of experience on matters of party and state activity, and disclosed fresh possibilities of collaboration between the two states' capitals.

BRIEFS

JOURNALISTS REFUSED ENTRY--Berlin, 24 April (EPD)--West Berlin correspondents are not allowed to attend the East Berlin meeting of the east region synod of the Evangelical Church which began last Friday [24 April] in Berlin-Brandenburg. The GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs has rejected the applications of the editors of Radio Free Berlin, Rias, and DIE WELT. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Apr 81 p 3 WA]

AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CONCLUDES VISIT, DEPARTS

Babolna Agricultural Combine

LD300128 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 29 Apr (MTI)--Dr. Willibald Pahr, federal foreign minister of the Republic of Austria, called at the Babolna agricultural combine on Wednesday, the last day of his official visit to Hungary. He was accompanied by Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja. At Babolna the visitors were welcomed by general manager Dr. Robert Burgert who briefed them about the work of the agricultural establishment employing 5,600 workers. Set up nearly 200 years ago, the farm has preserved its horse-breeding traditions. Horses coming from the Babolna stud-farm are in demand abroad as well. A third of the horses exported by the farm go to Austrian race stables and breeding establishments. The best of the present stock were seen by the visitors in a spectacular equestrian show arranged in their honour. Later they saw the Babolna's poultry farm, the most significant branch of the combine.

Thereafter the visitors called at the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma.

Following this, concluding his three-day official visit here, Dr. Willibald Pahr left Hungary. He was seen off by his host Frigyes Puja.

Press Conference Comments

LD291640 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 28 Apr (MTI)--Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr, currently in Hungary on an official visit, met with the representatives of the press at a press conference on Tuesday. In his statement he emphasized: "My talks held during this present visit with Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, and with head of state Pal Losonczi, Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar, as well as with the Hungarian ministers of justice and foreign trade, were in accordance with the level of relations between Austria and Hungary. The relations of Austria to Hungary are characterized by friendship, good neighbourliness, mutual respect and adaptability.

"My discussions were held in this spirit. Our talks indicated that the wish that the relations of our countries be friendly in spite of the differing social systems is mutual from both the Hungarian and Austrian side. We wish to further intensify our cooperation in this spirit. This concerns primarily the economic relations, but we include cultural and other areas as well. The forthcoming visit to Hungary of Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky provides a good opportunity for giving a newer impetus to the development of our relations.

"In connection with the assessment of the present international situation there was agreement between us in the fact that it is very difficult and complicated. We also agreed in that continuation of the detente policy is our common interest, and in that we contribute with our own means to maintaining the detente process," the Austrian foreign minister ended his statement, then answered the questions of journalists.

Answering the questions of journalists Willibald Pahr emphasized in connection with Austrian-Hungarian relations: "Our friendly relations serve the interests not only of cooperation between our countries, but are a very important contribution to the preservation of European security, to further developing it. In such a period when the multilateral detente efforts are at a low point, close bilateral relations can mean a very good point of departure for promoting cooperation."

Replying to questions concerning the international situation, the Austrian foreign minister said: "Important areas of contact are the Vienna talks for the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments, and the Madrid conference. Both [words indistinct] expressed our hope that the Madrid conference will end with positive results. Under this I mean that such measures will be accepted there which assure the further strengthening of the process of European detente, in every relation of the chapters of the Helsinki Final Act."

Speaking of Austria's role in the detente process he emphasized: "Austria does everything so that it continuously maintains the readiness for East-West dialogue. Hungary and the other socialist countries consider the Final Act draft submitted by Austria together with the other neutral and non-aligned countries at the Madrid conference to be a positive basis for discussions," said Willibald Pahr in conclusion.

SYRIAN HEALTH COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED

LD281400 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 27 Apr (MTI)--Hungarin-Syrian health relations are developing in a many-sided way. Further joint work is based on the cooperation agreement signed in 1976. The executive plan of this agreement for 1981-1982 was signed on Monday in Budapest by Mr Emil Schultheisz and Dr Ghasub ar-Rifa'i, health ministers of Hungary and Syria respectively.

Under the terms of the working plan the sides will mutually inform each other on the laws concerning health, statistical data, the standard designs and building of institutions serving healing. They will regularly send information to each other on results achieved in scientific research, will familiarize the health organizers of the other country on the various-level educational programmes and curriculum.

The health bodies of the two countries also agreed in that they will send and receive scientists, researchers, doctors, pharmacists for exchanges of experiences in a total time-span of 50 weeks. They will mutually urge the further development of the direct relations and cooperation between Hungarian and Syrian scientific research institutions, medical and pharmaceutical sciences unions.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO AFGHAN COUNTERPARTS

LD271046 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 26 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 26 Apr (MTI)--On the occasion of the national day of the Afghan Democratic Republic, the third anniversary of the victory of the April revolution, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of greetings to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Afghan People's Democratic Party, president of the Revolutionary Committee of the Afghan Democratic Republic and prime minister. Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja similarly greeted his counterpart Shah Mohammad Dost.

On the national day of the Afghan Democratic Republic and National Peace Council, the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the National Council of Hungarian Women and the Hungarian Red Cross also sent greeting cables to the partner organizations in Afghanistan.

KANIA DELIVERS PZPR POLITBURO REPORT TO 10TH PLENUM

LD291204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1029 GMT 29 Apr 81

[PZPR Central Committee Politburo report delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 29 April in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, today's plenary session of the Central Committee is to make decisions on matters pertaining to the ninth extraordinary party congress. The Politburo proposes convening the congress from 14 to 18 July this year.

The proposed norms of representation assume the election of a larger number of delegates than at previous congresses. This way we are meeting the need for a fuller representation of various milieus, especially the need for a considerable increase in the participation of workers. This is why we support maintaining the privilege of the direct election of delegates to the congress by larger workers' plant organizations. Some voivodship committees and party organizations propose that this privilege should also cover large organizations acting in other milieus. We ought to examine this subject. The remaining delegates will be elected at voivodship party conferences, at conferences in military regions and in branches of the Armed Forces.

The proposed date of the congress coincides with the anniversary of the July National Day [1944 manifesto]. Let it have a symbolic expression. From the memorable July of 1944 we are counting a new Polish period, a period of independent existence within the secure frontiers of the Piasts [first Polish dynasty], a period of socialist Poland, a period of a new shape, brotherhood and alliance of Poles and Poland with the Soviet peoples and the Soviet Union.

Never has a congress met with such universal interest and the participation of the party members in the preparation for the congress has never been as creative as it is at present. The action of the Congress Commission set up by the Central Committee has been very energetic. The harvest of the proposals and elaborations produced by voivodship congress commissions and numerous party organizations is most abundant. Many comrades have contributed their ideas on diverse problems. This movement within the basic party organizations reflects a profound adherence to our ideas and the feeling of joint responsibility for the whole party and country; it reflects the strength of collective wisdom. This is a great treasure and we should do everything in our power to continue to maintain the high standard of party activity in the course of the further preparations for the congress. There can be no doubt that the precongress discussion will attract the attention of the whole international workers' movement, especially the attention of all the fraternal communist parties. This fact provides the measure of our responsibility before our own party and nation, our responsibility on an historic level and on a national level. At the same time our international responsibility is also great. On behalf of the Congress Commission I submit for examination two important documents: The first one is the program tenets concerning the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the leading role of the party in building socialism and stabilizing the social-political situation in the country. The second document is the draft of the changes and adjustments in the statute of the party. These documents will provide the basis for the discussion preceding the congress. We also expect them to become a basis for the decisions of the congress. Voivodship congress commissions have been consulted on the subject of these documents as were large party organizations, especially workers' party organizations. Many of the proposals submitted by these bodies will be used during the further work which will precede the congress.

What can be said about these two documents? During the discussion at the meeting of the Congress Commission the view was expressed that the two documents in their present form are, perhaps, not yet perfect; and indeed they are not perfect but they already provide an adequate basis for a universal discussion, the results of which will be examined by the congress. It can therefore be stated today that the party now has at its disposal the long-awaited outline of its program covering all spheres of life. The common feature of the assessments and guiding ideas contained in the two documents is the continuation of the program of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the political line of which was developed at the successive sessions. There has been much discussion within the party but the most widespread is the harmonious will to continue this line--the line of the socialist renewal of public life. This is also the wish of millions of working people.

This is not a mere declaration. There are many facts which speak in favor of the position of the party and its Central Committee and corroborate the program of socialist renewal. Everyone who assesses events realistically will agree that democracy in Poland has increased. Today, the relations within the party are different and there is no doubt on this score. Different too is the position of the Sejm and of People's Councils. The cooperative self-government and peasant's self-government are being reborn. Relations between the authorities and the trade unions are assuming a businesslike and constructive character on an ever wider scale. There already exists a considerable measure of achievement--the fruits of the work on the economic reform and the modernization of management. A number of draft bills have been prepared which consolidate the principles of socialist democracy.

The action which the authorities took to solve social disputes and conflicts was dominated by prudence, and the use of political means of action has become the principle. Important and favorable changes are taking place in the activities of the socialist youth organizations. Their vigor is increasing and their ideological involvement is growing; growing too is their independence combined with recognition of the ideological leadership of the party. Does all this mean these changes are adequate? It must be admitted that the criticisms of the insufficient pace of action, both within the party elements and within the state bodies with regard to various solutions which determine the form of the socialist renewal, are correct. We must remember, however, that we have been acting in the face of a great many unkown quantities, in changing circumstances, amid great tensions and difficulties and in the conditions of a constant threat to national existence.

As is well known, the economic situation is in a very bad shape. We are failing to carry out production plans; we must face a much greater decline in the national income than envisaged in the plan. The difficulties in supplies to the market are extremely far-reaching in view of the reduced deliveries of goods and the very much higher monetary incomes of the population. The credibility of Poland as regards coordinated economic cooperation with the socialist countries is declining; the same is true of cooperation with the countries of the West. We are failing to meet our obligations under contracts covering exchange of goods. The difficulties we face in paying our debts are getting greater. All this is, in the main, the result of the errors of the previous period and of the difficulties connected with a very poor harvest; yet, at the same time--and we must not forget this--this has been to a considerable extent the result of the disorder within the national economy, the decline of discipline, the strikes and continuous tensions which have marked the last few months. Therefore, it is the fundamental task of the party, of the working class and all the people who care for the country, to introduce a normal rhythm of work and to achieve an honest management of resources, as well as to seek effective ways of bringing the national economy out of its state of crisis. In our everyday work there is no task of greater importance.

Today's session is taking place in a different climate than the last one--the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee. At that time we were pursuing the discussion aware of the great tension which threatened inestimable consequences.

We held a debate after the warning strike. There was a real threat of the second strike being declared a general, sit-in strike. All this was connected with the well-known events in Bydgoszcz. Two questions arise in this regard: First, how great is social sensitivity in regard to every signal indication that the authorities have violated the law, even when it is done accidently and is not the result of general practice? Second, is not the strike weapon being reached for too easily and too hastily in our country? Should opposition to one incident become the reason for immobilizing the economy and for great social tension? Has not the relationship between the cause of tension and its consequences been violated? Is this not playing with fire near a mountain of dynamite? It is just as well that, in keeping with the position of the Central Committee of the government and of all social forces which feel responsible for the country, the general strike has been averted. The feeling of relief was widespread but linked with concern: Is it the last time?

However, some central activists in Solidarity did not hide the fact that they were not satisfied with the lifting of the strike, and they voiced their opposition to the union of those representatives who took part in the negotiations with the government. As we can see, there is no shortage of people who recognize no limits in political adventurism. They disregard the interest of the state and the interest of workers on whose behalf they act.

A strike also greatly threatens relations among workers; not all participate in the strike, and this creates differences and divisions. This was the case during the last strike. In many cases the refusal to take part in the strike was a sign of the courage of many comrades and nonparty workers. We have great respect for them. However, we must also remember that general participation in a strike like the last one is not accompanied by general approval of this method. We have a large amount of evidence to show that people's attitudes are greatly influenced by various concerns. Despite the fact that the party members' opposition to political strikes is necessary, we can not hastily judge the behavior of our comrades in difficult situations. We must show great tolerance, which we have sometimes lacked. We saw such tolerance at numerous meetings after the Ninth Central Committee Plenum.

The last Sejm session played an essential role in normalizing our situation. Of particular importance was the confidence expressed in the government and its premier, the approval of the position adopted on refraining from strikes during the next 2 months, and the approval of the actions designed to protect public order, streamline the operations of the forces of order, consolidate the rule of law and ensure an undisturbed rhythm in the functioning of the transportation, communications, power, defense and other sectors of the economy and of services particularly important to the life of the country.

This position of the Sejm has been approved throughout society. We should make every effort to ensure that our government and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski receive concrete support from the party when they act to improve the situation in the country. Concern for domestic calm, for an honest discharge of duties and for respect for law are today national issues, issues of the highest priority.

Comrades, by placing the problems concerning the party itself to the fore of the precongress document we want to underline the inviolable canon that the key to overcoming the crisis rests in the party, which plays the leading role in building a socialist society. There can be no socialist renewal without a renewal of the party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and without a renaissance of socialist ideals.

What matters here is not words but a practical reference to the historical roots of socialism, both the universal and Polish roots of socialism. In them we find lasting values, untouched by time. But how often today do we see them deformed by practice. In this sense, a renaissance in the party is a return to the fundamental ideals. It is also a development of new ideological and political elements against the background of the current needs of social progress.

Therefore, the elimination of all that caused the crisis does not mean the rejection of values which grew out of the experiences of revolutionary, social and national movements which were guided by humanism and, in particular, out of the experiences of the revolutionary workers' movement.

A great debate is in progress within the party. Its dominating trend is a development and a consolidation of intraparty democracy which would make its violation impossible and which would make its functioning the source of political power throughout party.

The suggested changes in and supplements to the statute and, above all, the enhanced status of the elected echelons, the role of the party organizations, members' rights and the strengthening of the control organs are subordinate to the ideas of party democracy. The draft changes in the statute encompass most of this. Three new chapters have been added: democracy within the party and democratic centralism, electoral precepts and the PZPR in the system of socialist democracy.

The suggested amendments to the statute are most substantial since the unification congress of our party. The present crisis and the analysis of its intraparty sources and causes, as well as the recurring nature of such phenomena, have created the need for these amendments. Hence, the universal concern and zeal with which thousands of party organizations throughout the country ask about institutional guarantees of intraparty democracy which must in future prevent dramas similar to the one we are now witnessing. Therefore, we suggest that the statute contain democratic electoral precepts, with consideration for universal secrecy, and limitations on the number of party posts held by one comrade as well as the separation of such posts from state, economic and social responsibilities.

We suggest the universally demanded principle of rotation by limiting to two terms the possibility of someone holding the same elected position in the executive organs--particularly the position of First Secretary of the Central Committee--and at other levels. We also suggest defining the status of the party apparatus and its subordinate role vis-a-vis the elected echelons. In suggesting these changes we realize that the main objectives of intraparty democracy boil down to three basic things: the ability to formulate a good development program, the ability to direct the mobilization of the sociopolitical forces to implement that program, and the ability to assess objectively the social reality so that the party can always perform a correcting role in relation to its own activities and program.

A party democracy conceived this way will appoint party members from all main milieus for the performance of functions, including the highest; from the workers' milieu which now correctly demands proper representation in the authorities; from the peasant milieu which represents the essential sector of production; from the viewpoint of general social needs; from the intelligentsia and intellectuals who in modern life are fulfilling an irreplaceable role in the development of science, technology, culture, and in the shaping of socialist awareness.

However, what matters is not merely representation, but a factual participation in operations and the making of decisions, in the activities of problem commissions, and also participation in meetings of the Politburo, and the executives, during the discussions of important problems.

At the latest meeting of workers' Central Committee members, the principle was formulated for the participation of these comrades and other members of the supreme authorities of the party in meetings of the Politburo when problems of interest to them are discussed. Such a principle must be introduced and strictly observed.

The activity of party organizations at work places is a basic and historically shaped principle of the building of the party. However, we know from experience that many human matters appear at places of residence, in small settlements or large apartment blocks. The significance of these matters has increased, not only in the present difficult conditions, but altogether. This is a trend of contemporary life.

A person wants to oppose an anonymous existence and finds support and assistance in the place of residence. Perhaps it will be purposeful to create the means of concentrating party members more widely in milieus of everyday life and work, so that the party can find itself closer to everyday human matters and so that it can become a factor for the initiation of solutions to these matters.

During the last decades new forms of contacts have appeared in the life of the party and also new forms of discussion in the aktivs of related social milieus. We are looking at various discussion commissions and teams as an expression of the party's activeness and animation. However, one must stress clearly that this activity must not lead to the undermining or replacement of historically proven Leninist party construction, to the undermining of its specifics. This would be a blow to the unity of the party and would create premises for a split and fraction.

In the heated atmosphere of discussions, examples are occurring of the promotion of forms which are equal to a constant distortion, weakening the readiness and effectiveness for implementation, placing in question the right of the Central Committee to prejudge individual problems and, not infrequently, applying in practice the principle of infallibility of one's own suggestions and proposals. In real life there are no conditions for a detailed harmonization of central decisions with every individual party organization.

Let us say honestly that similar practices are not found in any other political party in the world. Thus, the state of political awareness of the bulk of members is a generally positive phenomenon, although one must perceive all the dangers to which an activity outside the statute could lead.

One must also assume an attitude toward a new definition of the functions and tasks of the party apparatus. How this apparatus should function in order to better serve the elected party authorities in the execution of duties accepted by them with regard to the party is an essential question. It is obvious that the domination of the party apparatus is and would be a negation of the role of elected party echelons. We believe realistic and constructive solutions must be sought.

In the precongress discussion the general proposal is raised that commissions of party control should be elected by conferences and not, as stipulated by the party statute, by plenary sessions of party committees. This is motivated by concern for raising the prestige and independence of these important party organs. Such a solution is proposed by the Congress Commission in the draft of party theses amendments.

In meeting demands, we believe the Central Committee could adopt a resolution which would allow the possibility, even during the present campaign, of the election of party control commissions by voivodship, urban, and parish conferences, and also works conferences, which will come out in support of such election procedures. We assume that the procedure for electing the Central Party Control Commission will be defined by the party congress.

Elections at party links and echelons are already in progress. In this connection I would like to draw attention to the matter of increasing the number of our worker-comrades in the party authorities and in the congress, since the workers constitute the main force of the party. Their role results not only from the word workers in the party's name, or from the participation of workers' [word indistinct] in PZPR, but most of all from the fact that workers form the basic social class of the Polish people. They are the main creators of the changes which have taken place in our country. Their work has changed Poland into a modern socialist state. Also, at present, the workers are the main force in the process of socialist renewal. Their role in the formulation of the party program and its implementation is noticeable.

There are also cases which cause concern, which are occurring in the present election campaign, when too few workers are elected to the echelons and as delegates to voivodship conferences or to the party congress. It is precisely in the present situation that the whole party must take care that the ninth congress should be mainly a congress of workers.

Centralism is the second pillar of the entire party activity and structure. It does not constitute an alternative to democracy, nor is democracy an alternative to centralism. It is true that phenomena of bureaucracy and false unanimity in the life of party and state have seemingly hidden the universal and permanent value of centralism which is integrally linked to internal party democracy. Democracy, conceived as an unbridled discussion, as the functioning of a live opinion on all matters of our life, is a factor which strengthens unity and is a permanent movement toward party unity based on the adoption of positions of a majority as binding, and which disciplines the party in its political activity. Without democracy, unity remains shallow and empty, just as without centralism unity remains dead and powerless. We underline this unity as an unbreakable principle of the entire party, generally and especially at present when this unity is an elementary condition for getting out of the crisis. The introduction of the principle of democratic discussions in the party makes the question of ideological unity, based on faithfullness to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the ideals of patriotism and internationalism even more essential.

Commenting on both drafts of the documents one ought to add the observation about stepping up the role of party intellectuals, creators of science and culture, in the ideological life of the party. Their role is the defense and promotion in social life of the fundamental values of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism. Their role is to develop social research concepts, to reveal the frequently hidden new phenomena and to gear dissemination to the requirements of socialist constructions.

It is in this spirit that our Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism should also make its work more topical and reorient it. There is also a need to refer to the second major trend in our debate to date, the correct definition of the way the party discharges its leading role. A number of problems emerge here. The frequently uttered opinions on the need to improve the mechanism by which the party, as well as its members in all representative organs originating from elections--in particular the People's Councils and the Sejm--operate, should be endorsed. It is here that the center of gravity of discharging power moves.

We welcome the increased role of the legislative authorities in conformity with the constitution. This also indicates the increase in the personal and joint responsibility of party members, councillors and deputies. We are not starting from scratch here. We will continue the party efforts in support of the active work of the Sejm committees and the public presentation of state affairs in the Sejm from positions which reflect our party's programs.

In the long-term, we see possibilities for a more flexible application of party discipline in the activities of deputies and councillors, since there are many issues where they do not have to represent a uniform stance.

Another problem which is of great interest to all strata of the population, in particular the nonparty people, is the personnel policy now under discussion in the party. This applies not only to a critical assessment of the so-called excessively expanded range of personnel which, as is known, has already been reduced substantially. While being aware of the need for changes in personnel policy we also want to state that the party will preserve its influence on filling posts in the key links of our life.

We advocate widening the cadres recruitment base on the state, social and system level, so that all walks of life can be reinforced by the most gifted men and so that the resources of state and economic cadres can be replenished in good time at all echelons.

The personnel policy constitutes an important element in the social policy of our party, building the strength and vitality of our system and of the state and economic structures.

We evaluate all the programmatic precepts, changes and supplements to the statutes which have been accepted as a draft to be submitted to the ninth congress as a document which is bold in its formulation of new solutions, principle-based in the creative application of ideology and the theory of Marxism-Leninism, open and honest.

Comrades, today we are to examine the programmatic precepts for the congress. They suggest the basic trends for the socialist renewal, trends for the development of our democracy, for the consolidation of the leading role of the party and for the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation of the country.

We have been drafting this project while trying to focus the attention and vigor of the whole party on activities designed to overcome the results of the most acute, most protracted and most dangerous sociopolitical crisis which our country has experienced.

We have been preparing this draft guided by the desire to strengthen the lasting bonds linking our party to the working class and to the entire nation. We have been preparing it guided by the thought of leading our country on the path of a successful, socialist development, guided by the guarantees protecting against new crises.

These have been, and will remain our intentions. It is extremely important that they be met with the understanding of the entire party and become the foundations of precongress discussion in all its stages. We estimate that our difficult situation will be at the fore of the precongress debate. This is just as well, since deep knowledge of its complexity, of the threats against the country and of the causes of the crisis is most necessary. The debate is in progress; severe assessments have been made, often justified by the emotions. They create a one-sided and very bitter view. It is not surprising. There is a lot to live through. There are reasons for bitterness, and there are numerous facts that deserve criticism.

Comrades, let us be just in assessing the entire period of People's Poland. There were errors and set-backs. There were also crises during the period. However, it was also a time of development, of resolving our national problems successfully, of reconstruction of the country, of industrialization and modernization, of unprecedented cultural development of the community, of changes in social conditions for working people and of creating successful guarantees for independence.

These achievements were made by the working class, the people, and the program created by our party. Let us give due honor to the veterans of labor and struggle for the socialist shape of Poland.

Thus, all assessments which find the main sources of our crisis in the violation of socialist principles, of its economic laws, are correct. Thus, it is with socialism that we bind our programs and hopes for overcoming the difficulties, for the undisturbed development of our country.

Recent weeks have brought a clear focusing of assessments concerning those responsible for the crisis, particularly for the economic crisis, for the violation of moral norms. It is being stressed at meetings that particular people have let us down, and they should bear responsibility for their deeds.

Many resolutions have been addressed to the Politburo. They contain numerous accusations that the process of settling accounts with those responsible is too slow. In accordance with the position adopted at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum we think that one should bear political responsibility for political errors, while for the use of office for unjustified personal benefits there is a legal responsibility.

These criteria are in force in every civilized country. Thus, we have recalled from the Central Committee a group of people known to you. Party control commissions have expelled 758 persons from the party, including some former Politburo members, members of the supreme party authorities and ministers.

The Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] is continuing to investigate all indications of individuals violating the law. The prosecution organs have instigated investigations of people who have violated the penal law. An analysis has been made of the value of purchasing and using foreign licences. This has supplied material on errors and infringements. The purchases of over 10 percent of licenses appear to have been purposeless and the way these purchases were concluded can be linked with a punishable neglect of duty or with an overstepping of authority.

The prosecutor's office has instigated proper procedures here. There are clear delays in investigating the circumstances around the erroneous decisions in investments. This is in the hands of the NIK. Obviously, these are very complicated activities and very time consuming.

The mass media have made all these matters known. But the fact that the process of bringing people to task is moving too slowly must be considered a justified criticism. It is necessary to examine the resolute demands that those who are most culpable should be deprived of the highest rank [ordery].

A proposal was made at the last meeting of the members of the Central Committee and workers [as heard] that this plenum establish a commission composed of the highest party authorities to evaluate the progress achieved so far and the possibility of accelerating the work on the issue of culpability. The Politburo believes that such a suggestion should now be examined.

We address our program to the nation. It is with our nation in mind that we formulate the goals and the tasks of effecting socialist democracy and of implementing the planned reforms and the new legal and institutional solutions. This program is a declaration of the intentions of the party, whose role in the state makes it a party duty to show initiative in the process of improving democracy, to express and fulfill the socialist strivings of the community in all spheres, and to participate in making decisions, governing and managing. We are interested in maintaining the broad powers of the representative state organs, from the Sejm to the parish people's councils.

We are in favor of giving a high rank to all the trade unions--that means the industrial, the autonomous and the Solidarity unions. [Words indistinct] we note with pleasure that the Industrial Trade Unions in particular are increasing their activity and regaining their influence. We support this. We support the rebuilding of the workers' self-government, of cooperative self-government, of rural self-government and, in particular, of the agricultural circles, which have rich traditions and great current potential. We will encourage activity by the League of Women, rural housewives' circles and all social organizations which are based on the foundations of socialism. It is necessary to view as a firm guideline the fact that democracy is not a gesture by the authorities to the community, but that it is a great and growing requirement of socialism.

We should create the patterns of real democracy in the party and of truly socialist relations among people. Let us lead in every field, and not just by the boldness of our program, but also by the strength of example and the strength of action for the good of everyone. We appeal to all of society in our program. Particular place in the program is given to the concerns of youth. This is the first time that we are dealing with youth in such a developed way in the congress document.

It is impossible to understand the present crisis and to find ways to solve it without taking into consideration the youth of our community and the enormous role now played by the generations which grew up in People's Poland and which seek the resolute and literal implementation of the slogans taught to them since their childhood concerning the contemporary patriotism which cannot be separated from socialist moral and social principles.

Therefore, we appeal to everyone, and above all to the young people and their organizations--the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Socialist Union of Polish Students, the Polish Scout Union and Rural Youth Union--to begin an extensive discussion of the above topics. We are aware that the congress will fulfill its role if its platform is accepted by the young Poles and if it finds their support. This will happen if the young people themselves put into the future program everything they consider to be very important to themselves, to the nation and to the fatherland.

We expect the discussion to contribute to our primary ideas about science, education and culture. Each of these areas contributes to the present and future development of the nation and shapes its situation, but at the same time they are dependent on circumstances, particularly on economic circumstances. We will support these areas with material resources--in keeping with our ability--and with efforts to create a climate which will facilitate the development of creativity and intellectual potential.

Esteemed comrades, the extremely perilous consequences of the economic crisis are becoming universally recognized. These consequences are far-reaching. Taking the national economy out of its present, still-worsening situation requires great imagination combined with prudence, initiative and discipline in the performance of tasks, calm and a great many sacrifices. Skillful, consistent, effective and speedy action is required. The Council of Ministers economic committees' work on the program to stabilize the national economy has been going on too long. The same is true of the Planning Commission's work on the report on the state of the national economy. Both these documents should be an extremely important subject of precongress discussions. A clear answer must be given to a number of questions of fundamental importance. An attempt to answer these questions is made in the tenets of the program for the congress.

How is the national economy to be lifted out of the chaos caused by its profound disorder? How is one to return basic equilibrium to the national economy? Without this, production is very inefficient and the cost of development continues to rise. It will be necessary to make fundamental changes in the structure of the economy. It is also essential to increase the output of food significantly. What policy is to be proclaimed in regard to market supplies amid conditions of extensive shortages of commodities?

Above all it is necessary to predict the supply of goods of primary importance, even at the expense of other goods. It is necessary to use the method of burdensome regulations.

However, it does not seem possible to maintain present prices, especially in regards to foodstuffs. This is a problem of great social importance which requires a thorough examination and widespread consultations with the public. What conditions should be created for agriculture in order to ensure a speedy development of farm production and the best possible use of every hectare of land? It is necessary constantly to seek profitability and to look after the supply of machinery, fertilizers and other items which farming requires. All this will have to take place not amid conditions of development, but amid conditions of declining industrial output. Consequently, we must spur initiative in industrial enterprises in regard to the assistance to be given to farmers. It is necessary to support the agricultural self-government organizations. A new union is being formed: NSZZ Solidarity of Private farmers. Our attitude to this organization will be determined by the action this organization takes. It is the duty of all party members who are active in the countryside as well as of all party elements to facilitate the activities of the agricultural circles.

We must also find an answer to the question of how to increase our export potential and how to replace imports with home production so as to be able to cope with our payment obligations abroad. In this respect we will need permanent, and not simply provisional, orientation toward export by chosen branches of the national economy or even specific industrial enterprises. No shifting of difficulties can replace this measure, although at present it is necessary to resort to shifting difficulties around. We must remember that the factors which make the situation easier today might exacerbate it still more tomorrow. We all know well that the greater the difficulties the more important is the need to economize in every field of public and economic life. We have been saying this for a long time and yet the results are still inadequate. Let us then make the regime of economy an important theme for the party; a firm answer must be given to the question concerning the meaning of this regime in the sphere of the management of fuels, raw materials, and energy as well as a radical limitation of expenditure in various public offices and organizations.

All this taken together will have an impact upon our social policy. The economic situation in the country over the next few years will greatly limit our opportunities to improve living conditions. Consequently, all decisions affecting prices, wages and social benefits must take into account the need to achieve a recovery of the economic balance, and at the same time bear witness to the elementary sense of social justice. Our program does not contain impressive promises because the difficult situation makes them impossible. The effects of this situation will have to be more consistently placed on the shoulders of those whose living standards are greatly in excess of the average.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that even in conditions in which the level of income is high in comparison with the possibilities of the market supply, very hard situations are frequently encountered. They are caused by poverty or by the limited capacity of the people concerned. We must be sensitive with regard to such situations; we must effectively react to them. It must be always remembered that living conditions are the result not only of the level of wages and incomes--there is the vast field of community consumption, the functioning of which greatly affects the position of the nation, I have in mind health care, working conditions, creches, kindergartens--much remains to be done in this field.

A component part of the social policy is the matter of employment. It is important how one sets about the transferring and retraining employees in order to reconcile individual interest with the interests of the community as a whole and in such a way that would ensure for everyone the prospect of a job. This duty derives from the socialist principles of our state.

We shall seek opportunities to improve the economic situation by developing our cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries. This is a very advantageous operation from our point of view because of the conditions of the exchange. The quantities of raw materials we acquire from the USSR could not be purchased by us from any other country. Therefore, this cooperation is of vital importance for Poland.

The key to long-term solutions is to be found in economic reform. The discussion on the basic assumptions of this reform is in progress. As from 1 July, new principles of action based on the tenets of the economic reform will be introduced in small-scale manufacturing and on state farms. Thus we shall be able to test the new system of economic management in two extremely important sections of the economy.

In the next few weeks, reorganization of the central management apparatus of the national economy will be carried out; it will be followed by reconstruction of the organizational system of middle management. Thus we are aiming at comprehensive reorganization of the structure and the system of functioning of the national economy.

The period between this present plenum and the ninth congress will have to be put to good use by more extensive discussion concerning the tenets of the reform, so that the final shape of this reform should meet the needs and aspirations of the nation, the objectives of the socialist development of society and, above all, it is necessary to prepare well the conditions for practical introduction of the reform.

Esteemed comrades, the shaping of socialist reality, of socialist convictions, and of socialist interhuman relations are the mission of our party. Our party has grown from the class struggle of workers against oppression. It has grown from the needs of the struggle for social liberation. As Lenin taught, and as our practice confirms, the victory of the socialist system does not in itself protect against bureaucratic and various other perversions aimed against the working people. When we reach the sources of the crisis, we again realize how great is the need for high sensitivity to everything which constitutes a blow against the sense of justice, which weakens the struggle against evil, against that which violates the dignity of a human being as a worker and as a citizen. This sensitivity has become a fact in a considerable portion of the party organization and party echelons. Let us take care to ensure its durability and effectiveness. Life will then become better and the party's prestige higher. Let every party organization, every echelon and every party member be always faced with the questions: What should be changed, how to build the strength of the party, how to get out of the crisis, how to develop social activeness, and how to isolate the adversaries of socialism?

At every level, from the party organization to the Central Committee, we need now only a directional line of action, not only reaction to events, but a consciously formulated plan of intentions which defines the targets and methods of their implementation. This is an essential weakness in the functioning of the leading party organs. One must consider, therefore, not only what must be done, but how to do it. One must see in this an important condition for the effectiveness of party work. A constant link of party activists with party organizations, care for conformity with facts of contacts, the getting-to-know the viewpoints and experiences of labor, the open presentation of the complexity of circumstances and of ways out of a situation are needed.

Much has changed so far, but we are still learning how to do it better. Not much more than 2 months remain until the congress. On what should we concentrate our attention in this period?

In the forefront should be seen all that which serves the consolidation of ideological cohesion and the activeness of the party and all its organizations. We should deal with complete thoroughness with the proposals and remarks of party organizations. Nobody should be left without an answer--and one must emphasize that at the Central Committee neglect in this matter is considerable.

We have many new comrades as secretaries and members of executives of party organizations and echelons. One must consider effective methods of assisting them in the sphere of ideological education and in the modes of party work, on the basis of the best experiences. Severe criticism of the Central Committee is necessary as far as party information is concerned. An improvement in this sphere must take place so that information can become deeper and more efficient than in the past.

We shall make changes in the structure of the party apparatus in order to promote an increase in the role of social organs and echelons, and so that the activity of party workers should be directed to the analysis and dissemination of the best experiences in party work and social activeness, to the control and deeper awareness of social moods. We need the introduction of such working methods as would prevent the apparatus from duplicating the activity of administrative organs.

Secondly, we need constant interest in the implementation of the government program. Of particular importance in this context is care for supplies to the market and development of initiatives for increased coal extraction since otherwise we shall not be able to solve the economic problems.

Our activity in relations with trade unions and the administration is required to prepare enterprises for work in the summer period, in difficult working conditions, and to secure recreational facilities for the workforces.

Thirdly, the preparation of agriculture for the harvest is a matter of exceptional importance as is aid to agriculture and summary actions to improve supplies of indispensable means of agricultural production. Plans to switch the production of certain industrial works to meet the needs of agriculture should be speedily arranged, including the production of spare parts. This is a problem for the whole economy, since a shortage of spares will immobilize transport and essential machines worth more than Z430 billion. Is there any point in developing the production of machines, the same machines and new ones, while others are immobilized due to a shortage of spares? One must carry out an inspection of the state of agricultural land and determine methods for its best utilization.

Fourth, we ought to examine the assessment and suggestions in the report prepared in conformity with the decision of the Politburo on the conditions for a start in life, the living situation and the professional position of the younger generation. There are many difficult problems in this sphere. Tackling them cannot be delayed. Youth cannot be halted. We might lose a great capital of enthusiasm and qualifications. Let us encourage the participation of a large number of young comrades in the party authorities and echelons. We must not lose sight of the important issue of the employment of school dropouts and graduates. We must pave the way for workers and peasant children to higher education, even this year. Such a commitment evolves from the character of our state, from the principles of social justice.

For this prupose one must consider a complete system of priorities and effective aid for young people from these milieus. The housing situation for young families is very serious. In addition to new house-building projects one must also look for other possibilities. A strict principle should apply that a family cannot have more than one apartment at its disposal. Another possibility is to limit the utilization of apartments for office purposes and apply more severe norms to condense administrative space. The inspection of office space now in progress requires the thorough involvement of party echelons.

Fifth, we shall continue with the assessment of leading cadres. One must not only consider changes, although where there is a negative assessment of results or of working methods, a lack of responsibility for the sector with which cadres have been entrusted, or an inability to organize people, changes must be carried out and these must not be delayed. The inspection of cadres must also be an opportunity for moral satisfaction, for expressing appreciation to good leaders, to demanding and just superiors. It should be an occasion for strengthening their position.

It is essential that the road to higher functions be opened to the most able, responsible and distinguished through an exemplary civic and ideological posture. Let us make a point of widening the basis of cadre recruitment, especially by including young people and non-party people.

We are relying on our comrades who are active in the mass communication media, in press, radio, and television. Their role cannot be overestimated and weighs exceptionally on social viewpoints, on the formulation of the socialist face of society. This function of the mass communication media is important in that it expresses social opinion and creates conditions for an exchange of viewpoints among people. The shortcomings in the sphere of information and in the interpretation of various events have also been criticized.

The direction of the mass communication media is being censured. We reply: There is no sphere where influencing by the party should not be streamlined. This also concerns the directing of the press, radio, and television.

However, one must state with determination that it is the mission of party organs and the role of party members working in the press, radio, and television to interpret the events occurring in the country, in society, and in the party in a spirit that consolidates the changes in conformity with the socialist renewal, in conformity with the principles of the building of socialism, the strengthening of our alliances and Poland's international position.

In this sense the party will never renounce either the right to inspiration or control over the means of information and propaganda. It is impossible not to see other critical voices which accuse certain publications of moving from one old extreme to a new one, from the propaganda of success to the propaganda of doom. This accusation is not without foundation. We are interested in the broad participation of our comrade journalists in the struggle against every evil, every injustice, everything that violates the law and is contrary to the ideals of socialism. Let us uncover those [word indistinct], let us help people in their struggle, but at the same time let us help shape a feeling of high responsibility for each word in the mass media. Let the media support socialist renewal. Let them forge the way for renewal and break various bureaucratic bottlenecks of which there are many.

At the same time we have the right to demand from our comrades a passionate struggle against foreign outlooks aimed at uncovering the real intentions of various friends of the people who are, in fact, confirmed enemies of socialism.

Esteemed comrades, for many months we have been following the road of resolving the existing crisis by political means. We have been following it in the conviction that we will be able to muster sufficient force in order to be equal to the task. This involves restoring the community's confidence in the party's policy and in the people's authority. This involves the development of democracy linked with respect for the law and the strengthening of social discipline, the restoration of the normal rhythm in the functioning of the economy, the eradication of the signs of anarchy, the isolation of enemies of socialism from influencing the community, and the building of the alliance of all forces of common sense and civic responsibility in the country.

Thus, we must resolve very complex tasks which demand vigor in programming, patience in the face of criticism, tolerance in the face of severe assessment, and firmness in defense of the socialist cause and the party position.

Our line, therefore, remains a line of agreement but also a line of struggle. We are operating in conditions of continuous and major threats posed by the catastrophic economic situation, the state of social upheaval, the contradiction between the great hopes for an improvement in social conditions and the increasingly limited possibilities for their fulfillment.

All this is being exploited by the enemies of socialism and their allies from the Western centers of diversion. A bitter political struggle is in progress in our country. A class struggle is continuing for the content of the renewal, for the defense of socialism, of its ideological values and of the realities of the system.

Sometimes we come across questions: What is all this in our country about those enemies of socialism, the antisocialist forces? Where does the danger to our system lie? The older generation remembers the difficult time of struggle during the first years after Poland's liberation when the forces of reaction were engaged in an armed struggle against the revolutionary reform, against the younger worker-peasant power.

Their victims numbered many thousands of supporters and defenders of democracy, soldiers, militiamen, Polish Workers Party activists, the fighting youth union, the Polish Socialist Party, the Peasant Party and nonparty people.

Today things are different. Everything happens without arms. Nobody gets killed. No shots can be heard.

All enemies of socialism build their hopes on the crisis--the social dissatisfaction with the results of errors, the desire to turn this into ammunition aimed at the foundations of socialism. They don the mantle of defenders of the workers' interests, as spokesmen for dissatisfaction. They want to create a state of insensibility in which one does not react to the so-called peaceful way of taking power, to the creeping counterrevolution.

We want to overcome our difficulties and they want to exploit them. Here lies the border of the division. The entire mechanism for putting local links of power out of action, for paralyzing the ability of organs of public order to act as well as various methods of blackmail against men defending the principles of socialism and party policy, are in operation.

All enemies of socialism place their hopes on the influence of Solidarity, on the possibilities of exploiting that organization. We deeply believe that they will fail in this on a mass scale since this is a workers' organization, an organization of millions of people of good will. Several hundred thousand party members belong to it. It is their duty to protect the socialist character, the activities which are in harmony with the nature of a trade union.

Our stance, our attitude to Solidarity is determined by two factors: The first consists of our intentions toward Solidarity since its inception. We have been building our intentions on the basis of the declaration by the organizers, written down in the statute, that the union supports the precepts of socialism, that it recognizes the leading role of the party in the state as well as our international alliances, and that it will not play the role of a political party. Our constructive intentions are still fully binding.

The second factor determining our attitude to Solidarity is based on facts, on the practice accompanying the union's activity, the activities of its branches and activists. We are pleased with every example of good, useful cooperation. However, there are very many causes for anxiety.

The strike weapon is being used too rashly. The same is true of the taking over of power in factories during strikes. There are numerous union publications which attack the precepts of the system, our alliances, and the party. We are perturbed by speeches made at union meetings by notorious enemies of socialism from the Social Self-Defense Committee leadership, as well as by their real influence within the union.

A great deal of reflection should also be directed at manifestations of support for Solidarity from the extreme right-wing quarters in the West and the centers of cold war diversion. Many reservations are also raised by the published program document dealing with the directions of Solidarity's activities.

The document presents views on many questions. It states what the union will demand and what it will subject to control. It expresses views on important aspects of state policy testifying to wider ambitions than would emerge from the nature of a trade union. It is difficult, much more difficult, to find in this document an announcement on what co-responsibility Solidarity wants to take in our country, in our state. Finally, the program says that Solidarity is the main guarantee of the process of renewal and stresses that there is no other force which can replace it in this task.

We state categorically, we are against monopolies for guarantees of renewal. Our party sees the guarantee of renwal in a different way. Of course, I mean the socialist renewal, since any other kind of renewal means no progress but a regression. That is why we are in favor of the accord, of the alliance of all the forces who care about the cause of saving our national existence. Such an accord and such an alliance are the foundations of the success of the line of socialist renewal.

We shall support such an alliance with all our might. It will be supported by our party together with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. We see here the chance for broad cooperation with the trade unions--the Industrial Trade Unions and Solidarity--as well as the Autonomous Trade Unions and youth organizations, women's organizations, the Church whose constructive activities and capabilities are always fully appreciated by us; cooperation with people of differing views and with all the patriotic forces. Such an alliance is needed by Poland today because only such an alliance can create a realistic guarantee for coming out of the crisis.

Dear comrades. The developments of the situation in our country have their international repercussions. This is obvious because we do not live in isolation. Our party constitutes a part of the international communist and workers' movement and our country is an important link in the community of socialist state, their defensive system and their moral and political strength.

At the same time, the position of the community of socialist states is a decisive factor in the balance of strength in Europe which creates the foundations of the existing peaceful status quo on our continent. There is, therefore, a definite feedback. Weakening the strength of Poland, undermining the socialist character of the country and the historically-tested international alliances are actions which aim at weakening the entire socialist community, and, in consequence, undermining all the factors which for 36 years or so have formed the foundations of our national security, independence and the durability of our borders.

We fully understand the deep anxiety of the communist parties, the anxiety of the fraternal socialist states and their worry about the increase of these tendencies and processes in Poland which mean weakening the economy and undermining the socialist state.

This anxiety was expressed at the 26th CPSU Congress in a speech by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and at the recently completed congresses of other fraternal parties. At the same time there was an expression of internationalist solidarity and the conviction that our party, acting in line with the decisions of the sixth and successive plenums of the Central Committee, will overcome the difficulties and will lead Poland onto the road of harmonious development based on the princples and ideas of socialism.

The fraternal countries, and in particular the Soviet Union, gave us considerable economic assistance. They agreed to maintain a certain imbalance in the mutual trade exchange. But, of course, we must stick to our pledges. We must not make our partners feel uncertain and expose them to difficulties which may result from unfulfilled pledges. This also applies to the trade exchange with other countries. Today, we very much need our commercial credibility.

There are numerous facts which prove that the imperialist circles are conducting a subversive propaganda campaign which constitutes open intervention in our internal affairs and that they are supporting and aiding the enemies of socialism by various means. The aim of this basically anti-Polish activity is to maintain tension and conflict in our country. Another cause for concern is the exploitation of events in Poland as a pretext for an arms race policy, to halt or block talks and international negotiations of key importance. An example of this is the resolution of the Council of Europe. Attempts are made to insert a wedge between Poland and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in order to undermine the unity and cohesion of the states of our community. They are a blow against the vital interests of Poland; they are a blow against the process of socialist renewal.

Socialism and the existence of independent Poland are unbreakable. We shall do all we can to preserve and consolidate these highest values.

We shall not allow anyone to violate the foundations on which they are based: the alliance with the Soviet Union and with all the states of the socialist community. This is the patriotic and internationalist duty of our party and of all its members. The mental premises of Polish foreign policy, adopted at the dawn of our people's statehood and proven in history, are unshakable. The truth is also unshakable that Poland's international interests and commitments make the safeguarding of stabilization and a harmonious development of our socialist fatherland the order of the day.

Comrades, our plenum is meeting on the eve of the day of the working class. May Day is a moral tribute to human labor. It has been recognized, and this work has been recognized, as the supreme value of man and society. This is why we shall all celebrate together, since this is the deepest meaning of Labor Day.

This year, 1 May preceeds the 190th anniversary of the 3 May constitution, that momentous but unfulfilled act of democracy and progress. People's Poland is the successor to those lofty ideals which arose from deep patriotism. Our deliberations today constitute an important stage in the preparations for the ninth congress. The results of the meeting will, to a considerable degree, decide the value of program ideas and the climate of party and social discussion. The congress towards which we are heading has historic dimensions: It must formulate a program for exit from crisis, and at the same time define the future of Poland in agreement with the aspirations of the community.

Therefore, we must do everything to ensure that the precongress campaign runs as smoothly as possible, so that its results will ensure that the congress will fulfill the expectations of the entire party and community. It is a great obligation placed on all of us who form the party--from the basic organization to the Central Committee.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS AT 10TH PZPR PLENUM ON 29 APR

First Session

LD291916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio reporter Jerzy Malczynski from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the end of the 5th hour of the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] We told you earlier that the session opened on time at 0900. The proposed agenda, containing the report, discussion, adoption of documents and resolutions, was supplemented by organizational and personal matters. The report was delivered by Stanislaw Kania, Central Committee first secretary. Since it was transmitted not long ago by radio, I shall not dwell on it. I just want to say that the report noted that the Politburo proposes to convene the congress during the period from 14 to 18 July this year and that the proposed norms of representation are assuming the election of a larger number of delegates than at previous congresses and that workers should be more numerously represented at this congress. Stanislaw Kania said that in the present situation the whole party must take care that the ninth extraordinary congress should be a congress of workers.

Today the plenum will also examine two drafts of important precongress documents. The first document is the programmatic premises for developing socialist democracy and strengthening the leading role of the party in building socialism and stabilizing the sociopolitical situation in the country. The second document is a draft of amendments and supplements to the party statute.

Also worth mentioning are the essential matters raised in the report by Stanislaw Kania, the matters known in common parlance as the cleansing of party ranks.

Comrade Kania said that an already-known group of persons has been recalled from the Central Committee's composition. Party control commissions have removed from the party 758 persons, including several former Politburo members, members of party authorities and ministers. The Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] continues the investigation of all reports on each case of personal advantages. Stanislaw Kania said that people should be held politically responsible for political mistakes and criminally responsible if they exploited their positions to infringe the law.

The discussion began after the report. The first speaker was Jerzy Putrament. He spoke chiefly of morality, authenticity, ideological [word indistinct]. He also spoke of the horizontal structures phenomena and the dangers connected with them.

The next speaker was Jerzy Romaniuk, a miner from Katowice, who spoke of problems in the mining industry. He also drew attention to the need to strengthen the government. He asserted that the entire government should be credible and not just the premier. He also spoke of matters connected directly with work in the mines. The last topic he discussed was work-free Saturdays during which the miners are working voluntarily. He noted that what matters is not to shirk work and to have a morally clear and clean situation.

The third speaker was Stefan Zawodzinski, first secretary of the Bialystok Voivodship committee. He spoke of problems of the Bialystok party organization.

The next speaker was Sofia Grzyb from RADOSKOR [Radom leather factory] in Radom. [sentence indistinct] She pointed out, inter alia, that the dishonesty of decisions adopted by the highest party authorities, by the Central Committee, depends in great measure on the composition of these authorities. She said that at present the 250-strong Central Committee has among its members and candidates only 58 workers. This ought to be changed at the congress.

The fifth speaker was Stanislaw Krolik from Kalisz Voivodship, activist of a production cooperative. Speaking of agricultural problems, he said that the catchword "everything for agriculture" is a catchword and that its implementation is distant.

The next speaker was NIK Chairman Mieczyslaw Moczar, who made a rather lengthy speech, concentrating chiefly on matters dealt with by NIK, which means various investigations of the morality of party members, including Central Committee members. After the speech a motion commission was appointed which will submit proposals for the plenum's resolution.

Next [words indistinct] from the clothing factory spoke about problems appearing in today's discussion and the dishonesty of the party. She said that everything, including what course the renewal would take, depends on (?the party's composition).

The next speaker was Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and then came Zygmunt Wronski from Ursus.

Wronski's rather strange speech concerned very many matters. He spoke among other things about the need to publicize and activate the work of the Central Party Control Commission and of voivodship party control commissions. He also spoke of the need to include workers employed in large industrial plants in the Politburo. He said that public opinion ought to be widely informed about the party organizations to which members of the highest party authorities belong and how they are acting in their basic party organizations.

The 10th speaker was Stefania Paruzel, worker from Slupsk Voivodship, who spoke of the progress of the election campaign and of problems connected with election [word indistinct].

The 11th and last to speak before the break was Edward Szymanski, first secretary of the Wloclawek Voivodship committee.

In his extensive speech he dealt with a number of very essential matters. He took a position, among other things, on the date of the congress proposed by the Politburo. He pointed out one result of the precongress election campaign that the congress might be a longer-lasting congress--and said that it would be well for it to end before the July National Day. He also said that the date of taking to account all those who have abused their positions and influence for personal material advantages should be more precisely defined. He said that that date should be as soon as possible and that it should in any case precede the ninth congress, since otherwise the ninth congress might founder on the settling of accounts. He also supported the proposal of Comrade Kania to appoint a special Central Committee team to deal with these matters. The team will probably be appointed today.

This was a brief summary of the discussion which is very factual, very serious, and really very interesting.

Second Session

LD292238 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1940 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Report by two unidentified Warsaw Television reporters from the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw on proceedings of the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] [First reporter] Since the resumption of the 10th plenum's deliberations at 2000 more speakers took the floor.

Jan Labecki from Gdansk supported the theses of the Politburo report which contains concrete statements, as he put it, which were absent 3 or 4 months ago. The so-called horizontal contacts in the party, he said further, free a lot of emotions and bear in them the seed of irregularities if they are allowed to develop uncontrolled. But such contacts contained in an organizational framework can be useful to the party. The party ought to work out arguments for the fight against its enemies. Here is another statement:

[Second reporter] Comrade Andrzej Werblan said, inter alia, that the party's path toward renewal would be much easier if all Central Committee members devoted their skills and knowledge to this aim. This also includes those who are departing. Political maturity occurs most rapidly in a climate of debate and cooperation, but a really creative debate is only possible if all subjects are treated with reason, caution and honesty. Such a debate even includes spontaneous decisions. The orthodox treatment of Marxism-Leninism is a great mistake, said Andrzej Werblan. By evaluating views and decisions from such a stance one will not reach agreement.

Comrade Kenryk Kostecki, first secretary of the Nowy Sacz party voivodship committee, said that it is an urgent duty of the party leadership to listen to the voices coming from the grassroots level. One does not have to accept such voices without criticism, of course. The party's basic organizations expect that whatever is valuable in such tendencies will be introduced into the leadership's action program. Comrade Kostecki proposed that the congress not be given tasks which are impossible to fulfill. Let the congress realize two most fundamental tasks: to elect the best possible Central Committee and to give the party a new political manifesto which accords with the expectations of all party members and the nation.

We were not prepared for such a serious crisis, said inter alia Comrade Jerzy Urbanski from the Central Commission of Party Control. The party is now threatened by an enormous danger. Time is against the party. Even if the draft program documents and the draft statute discussed here still have some faults, I would like to join the voices which favor adopting them right now and placing them at the disposal of all party members.

Further on Speech Reports

LD300041 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Here are some excerpts from speeches of the speakers who took the floor at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, selected from PAP material.

(?This is what was said by) Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]:

All people of good will, both party and nonparty, will expect the ninth party congress to secure (?pluaralism) and (?to secure the party) against future demoralization in its ranks. Lack of confidence in the party, moral degradation and lack of morality, enormous indebtedness of the state--all these cause tiredness in the community and expectations of important decisions from the party. From whom else is the community to expect anything?

I wish to say a few words about controls carried out by NIK at the radio and television committee. We have just finished an investigation which lasted for a number of months. The investigation results have been sent to the relevant state organs. The document containing the investigation results has been growing thicker and thicker for years. Television used to be an institution which acted on sacred cow principles. It is almost impossible to assess the losses which were inflicted. In the seventies we tried a few times as a Supreme Chamber of Control to enter this "state within a state." But each time the investigators had to withdraw either on orders from Edward Gierek or from Jaroszewicz. That is why the television leadership did whatever it wanted. Over Zl.2 billion were spent in contravention of all regulations. [Passage indistinct]

Edward Szymanski, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Wloclawek Voivodship PZPR Committee, referred to the resolution submitted at the previous plenum which had gained support but which at the same time hd given rise to many controversies, speculation and gossip. We acknowledged that that moment, when the specter of a general strike hung over the country, when we could not be sure of tomorrow, and when not much time was left to resolve this matter, was not a moment suitable for carrying out changes in the party leadership. Today we have the conditions to discuss all the subjects which it was impossible to implement at that time and to adopt well thought out decisions. Today, those who have lost the political and moral rights to fulfill their mandates in the leading offices of the party and at various levels in representative bodies should leave them. Central Committee personnel must also appear credible to the Congress Commission. [Passage indistinct]

Kazimierz K[illegible]kol, PZPR Central Auditing Commission member and member of the Collegium of the Supreme Chamber of Control, said:

The programmatic assumptions and the draft statute do not reflect the entirety of thoughts, proposals and the (?actual situation). The latter are much more advanced than can be perceived from the assumptions. I think that the Torun case especially should be approached with an open mind. The functioning of party links is headed [as heard] by a man who was expelled from the party. [Words indistinct], this issue was debated, a decision was made, and one ought to behave in accordance with what is in force in the party. I do not know whether expelling this Torun group, which wants to break all principles outside the party structure, would bring about a self-critical assessment, whether it would cool hotheads. But I am convinced that the presence of [words indistinct] party representatives at this party conventicle will certainly not contribute toward stimulating reflections, will not prevent actions which should, I think, be exposed for what they really are.

Mieczyslaw Rakówski, member of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers said:

In ranks and file of the party there exists today a firmly rooted conviction, which is also based on the experience gained from the ninth plenum, that the Central Committee elected at the eighth congress is quite simply (?incapable) of leading the country and party out of the crisis.

If this conviction is incorrect then we still have 2 months to live to prove this truth. However, experience teaches us that we shall not prove this truth through shouting and magic incantations.

The members of the party leadership who have finally gone to factories--where party's and working class' hearts beat--have heard many bitter and sharp assessments about their activities. And they have obviously deserved this because it is difficult to imagine that at least several hundred thousand party members have been convinced by some sort of sinister forces to indulge in unrelenting criticism. Unfortunately, this way of thinking is still not alien to certain comrades.

This is why we do not know how to effectively counter trends which spell ruin for Poland. There can be no doubt that an essential role is played by the barrier which leads to a situation where Central Committee words of warning and appeals to party members for increased activity often no longer have much meaning. The party base, including the so-called horizontal structures, are on one side of this barrier. They give rise to animosity [niechec] and even anger among certain comrades. It is my conviction that the party base instinctively senses this animosity and becomes more convinced that it is not liked. I consider that frowning on horizontal structures is unfortunately a misunderstanding. We should have recognized right from the beginning what was good in them and gone jointly to the congress, rejecting what was bad and what was not in accordance with Leninist norms. I think that as regards these structures there is still a little time to get rid of the accumulated misunderstanding.

Let everyone weigh up carefully the following circumstances: First, the period of pretending has gone by. Poland's political situation continues to be grim. Second, nothing damages (?nations) so much as underestimating the realities. Third, the peace in Europe that has been with us for 36 years is too valuable for the Polish nation to let certain people indulge in activities which objectively undermine its foundations. And fourth, the new phase in Polish-Soviet relations which is favorable for the Polish nation, which was begun jointly, paid for in blood and which has also borne fruit in the shape of our return to the Western lands, is an historical achievement and must be protected with care.

We state that Poland will no longer return to the period before August 1980. This is a just thesis, but the question arises as to what shape political structures, in other words power, should and must assume in the Poland of the 1980's. A lucid concept of such a system, clear and understandable to everyone, must come into being. If this does not happen, then we shall not be so much borne along on the wave of events as pushed from one corner into another.

We must set about doing work with all our energy, we must look realistically at what has happened in Poland and liberate ourselves from old topics.

And finally the matter of trade unions. The actions of the government Committee for Trade Union Affairs and by actions are in general judged on their merits. But there are plenty of critical assessments too. And this is how things should be. The only thing I would ask for is that when people formulate criticial remarks, the word "concession" should be used extremely sparingly. Today this is a very fashionable little word. Some people speak of "manipulation" whereas others speak of "concessions." But the whole dilemma is that in very many cases the working class and public opinion accepts what some comrades consider to be a concession as a hesitant approach to realities.

PAP on Moczar Speech

LD301032 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 30 Apr 81

["Discussion at the 10th PUWP Plenary Meeting"--PAP headline]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 29 Apr (PAP)--Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, chairman of the Supreme Board of Control:

The forthcoming 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress is going to be a significant event not only for this country but for the international communist movement. We all know that for the 36 years since the war our party has never organized an extraordinary congress.

Today we have to smash all the barriers, especially those which unfortunately we ourselves have erected, in order to set the defiled laws of Marxism free.

In the course of precongress debate, party members are demanding a close scrutiny of the last decade and squaring accounts with the Gierek team. They also stress the need to sum up the record of the incomplete term of office of the present Central Committee.

Comrade Kania was perfectly right when he repeatedly made critical and self-critical statements on his own behalf and on that of the Political Bureau saying that the road we chose was right and the only possible one, but whether our actions in this direction were always effective is another matter.

Lenin firmly criticized all activists who would not draw on historical experience before taking decisions vital to the party. He also criticized those who forgot where they came from and would not take heed of other people's opinions. It is exactly these reasons which underlie the situation we are facing at the moment and it is them that claim such an enormous, tragic price today.

Today, the Polish people are not fully aware of the fact that our country's sovereignty has been seriously threatened and that this reality must be treated seriously. Of late, many people demoralized by impunity have been behaving in a particularly dangerous way. This may have tragic effects for the whole society.

We have completed investigation at the radio and television committee which has been going on for several months. Television used to operate on princples typical of the sacred cow: Over 1,200 million zlotys have been spent beyond any regulations.

The present crisis is basically one of confidence in the party. The most painful thing about it is that it has occurred within the ranks of the working class.

Polish society wants to know what to do and we should tell them, for if we don't, anarchy will flood any reasonable social move.

Today it is not enough to severely condemn the activities weakening Poland's alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The entire Polish society, including our political opponents and different kinds of political mythomaniacs, should know where Poland's interest ends and where is the beginning of the road leading to self-destruction.

Poland's political situation continues to be dangerous. Nothing is more harmful to the nations than disregard of the realities. The 36-year-long peace in Europe is too precious for the Polish nation to let some people pursue activities designed to objectively undermine its foundations. New, advantageous for the Polish nation stage of Polish-Soviet relations, initiated by jointly shed blood and also bearing fruit in our return to the Western territories is a historical achievement and has to be carefully protected.

The appraisal of the past decade should be entrusted to a special Sejm committee. As regards the party two documents should be worked out before the congress, one to assess the Polish crises and the other to define the degree of party responsibility of the Central Committees operating in the years 1971-1980.

We state that Poland will not return to the period preceding August 1980. This is a correct statement but the question arises what should be and is to be the construction of political structures in Poland in 1980's like. There has to come a clear-cut and universally understandable conception of such a system.

The activities of the government Commission for Trade Unions and my own generally get a substantive appraisal. There is also a critical approach and this is the way it should be. I would only like to ask for a scarce use of a concession while formulating critical remarks. In many cases what some comrades regard as a concession, the working class and the public opinion take as a timid approach to the realities.

Kruk on Renewal, Mistakes

LD301148 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 30 Apr 81

["Discussion at the 10th PUWP Plenary Meeting"--PAP headline]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 29 Apr (PAP)--Wladyslaw Kruk, alternate member of the CC Political Bureau:

The heart of the matter is the assessment that the pace of socialist renewal is too slow and that we have made considerable mistakes in this period. It is important that we should be able to openly admit them.

The party continues to be a force in the society on which the basic hopes for getting out of the crisis are pinned. Such a concept of the party's role and the expectations set on it is the result of the entrenchment of socialism in the Poles' consciousness as a lasting social system.

More than once we voiced the party's stand on the most important problems of foreign policy and especially on the issue of fraternal cooperation and friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries.

One cannot fail to see that a lot of misunderstanding as regards the functioning of the basic principles of proletarian internationalism accumulated in various milieux. It is understandable that throughout hundreds of years, Poland's relations with her neighbours were not marked by bright moments alone. We added fresh distrust to history by its selective interpretation. Our propaganda still does not promote genuine presentation of various problems of economic and political cooperation. We devote too little attention to reporting on the USSR's economic assistance. The society must be aware that we have friends and can rely on them. This must be a part of political consciousness of the society.

RAKOWSKI, OLSZOWSKI, OTHERS ADDRESS PLENUM

Brigade Leader, Rakowski Speeches

LD291759 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio reporter Slawomir Szof from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum--live]

[Text] I shall recall the proceedings briefly. The session opened at 0900 with the Politburo report delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee. We transmitted the 90-minute report at 1230 in the first program and we shall repeat it after the newscast at 1900 also in the first program. Next, the discussion began. So far 19 people have spoken. The last and 19th speaker at the 10th plenum prior to the break, which has just begun was Elzbieta Kron from the shoe factory at Jaroslaw.

Since our last broadcast at 1600 two more people have spoken, (Albin Spiwak) from the house building combine in Warsaw, a brigade leader, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier.

Albin Spiwak was the 11th speaker--a worker employed directly in production. His speech was sharp, full of bitterness, but also optimistic. His optimism was due to the fact that the working class has regained its voice, as he put it, that it is and will remain a component and decisive force in matters concerning the fate of Poland both now and in the future.

Comrade (Albin Spiwak) spoke with bitterness about the reason why party cards are being returned by people who have clean hands and clear consciences. Everything should be done to keep them in the ranks. Such people with clean hands and clear consciences are needed as never before and they have an opportunity to perform something important and great. The good name of the party cannot be undermined by individuals, continued (Albin Spiwak). He then proposed that a plenum-appointed commission should state clearly and frankly who is responsible for what in the near and more distant past, and who should be defended with the full strength of arguments and conviction.

He also mentioned the rather controversial question of admitting workers' representatives to the Politburo. On this point he polemicized with Stanislaw Kania who had noted that this was not a simple matter and that the presence of workers in the Politburo required much time and would be difficult for people directly employed in production. (Albin Spiwak) did not agree with the viewpoint of the first secretary. He considered that it was a great mistake in the past to separate from the masses, from the working class. This mistake should not be repeated. It is not essential how much of the worker-Politburo members time would be occupied. The most important thing is that workers' presence in the Politburo would bring something new, reanimating, and very badly needed: healthy commonsense, the knowledge of realities of Polish life in 1981.

Now Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. [Words indistinct] to report legnthy and polemic speeches, let me limit myself, dear listeners, to a few excerpts which drew my attention. Thus Mieczyslaw Rakowski began by saying that we have great hopes at the plenum. He then spoke of the working style of the party leadership, the still dated style dominated by certain convictions accumulated during many years. One of them is that the representatives of authority are right. Mieczyslaw Rakowski said: Why should they obey us? Why should they obey us within society, in the party ranks, at what are known as party houses, when we are not right? Should they do so merely because we are Politburo members, members of the government, Central Committee members? Sound arguments and superior reasons are important, not convictions.

He continued that it is a pity that at the present 10th plenum no analysis has been presented of Politburo member meetings with workforces. I know that it was a demand of the previous ninth plenum, demand implemented through meetings of the leadership with workforces. We also know that these meetings were often stormy and controversial. Yet Mieczyslaw Rakowski felt that an analysis is lacking, especially of the proposals and experiences which the Politburo members gathered at these meetings with representatives of the working class.

He then spoke of international conditions related to the situation in Poland He recalled that the ninth month of tensions was in progress. Rakowski said that this is too long for a country situated in the center of Europe. The country has become an important link of the socialist community and at the same time of the European and even world security system. He spoke of attempts at an anti-Soviet campaign, which were frequently initiated in our country. He said that such trends were absolutely destructive for Poland. He also said that nothing is doing as much harm to nations as recklessness. In the present difficult and complicated situation we cannot afford too much recklessness. He also spoke about a frequently raised point, that the world is listening carefully to what is happening here, but that it is also becoming increasingly impatient with the prolonged tense situation. They are accusing us of lacking a sense of realism. Deputy Premier Rakowski spoke at length on this subject.

He next dealt with internal party matters. He mentioned the controversial so-called horizontal structures in the party. He said that it had been another of our mistakes to reject such a structure at first. Now we are recognizing it but with no small opposition. Mieczyslaw Rakowski proposed that one recognize whatever is good in the horizontal structures and reject whatever is bad and in conflict with Leninist norms. It is highest time to remove misunderstandings existing within the party in relation to horizontal structures. These misunderstandings are not needed right now.

Another component of Mieczyslaw Rakowski's speech was the attitude toward the past, especially the last decade. We remember the past.

This is good, he said, but it is highest time for the Sejm to make a comprehensive assessment, for a public debate on this past decade to take place at the Sejm. On the other hand he agreed that the party should prepare for the ninth congress a detailed assessment of the crisis, of the consecutive political and economic crises occurring in our country. This document should define degrees of responsibility for the consecutive situations and the very harmful consecutive crises.

Now about trade unions. We need not remind you that the premier is heading the Commission for Trade Union Affairs. He did not say much because the issues are known, but he made one significant point which he addressed to the representatives of the party authorities, the Central Committee members: Comrades, let us not use too frequently the word concession, especially in relation to trade unions, which means Solidarity. To many of us it means a [word indistinct] getting closer to realities. He once more repeated: Let us avoid the word concession as a word which does not convey the whole truth and all that is happening between the authorities, the government and the trade unions.

This much about two speeches from the discussion. The break is in progress. The discussion will resume in a while with the 20th speaker. The session will last till the late hours of the night.

Rog-Swiostek, Olszowski Speak

LD292023 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio reporter and editor Slawomir Szof from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] We are trying, ladies and gentlemen, to give you an up-to-the-minute report on what is of most interest to us in the discussions, the main theses and main points in the speeches of individual speakers. I gave you a report an hour ago in the "Radio Courier" program on the speech by the 21st person taking part in the discussion, editor Ludwik Krasucki, our guest and commentator in the intensive discussion. The next speaker was (Boleslaw Drozdz), a team leader from the Stalowa Wola steel plant. A brief remark here: In the speeches of the delegates from the big enterprises and large party organizations one can feel their strength and power of persuasion. Members or candidate members of the Central Committee representing definite milieus and organizations are speaking with great strength and confidence in themselves. They are saying things boldly and perhaps in a manner which is controversial for many people in the hall.

What did (Boleslaw Drozdz) say? He proposed that groups of experts be appointed to help out both the Central Committee and the Politburo in their daily work. He said: Let us turn boldly to the intellectual forces of the party. I think that this statement made by a representative of the working class is particularly important. He went on to say that demands of party organizations are becoming more numerous. These are postulates and demands which are becoming increasingly strong and sharp and which say that lofty awards, including the order of Builder of People's Poland, should be taken away from those who built this Poland so badly and incompetently. The Stalowa Wola delegate then asserted that party organizations expect from the 10th plenum considerable changes in the party leadership. The mistakes and errors committed will quite simply force certain comrades to depart from the political scene. This also applies to former first secretaries of voivodship committees who right now no longer represent anyone.

The next speaker, the 23rd, in this great and stormy debate, was [CHLOPSKA DROGA editor in chief], Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek. He devoted a lot of time to the concept and content of democratic centralism. He spoke of the fairly great distaste for this democratic centralism by the lower party echelons. This distaste stems from suspicion toward the very formulation of democratic centralism and also from bad, if I may use the expression, experiences in the past. But Rog-Swiostek tried to weigh and consider the whole matter from all aspects.

He said that the proposals and views voiced in certain party and public discussions are often confusing. It is not a bad thing that these proposals and views are coming to the surface. What is bad is that the party, that we are not opposing them and are not engaging in polemics over them. After all, we all want authority which is fully democratic but which is also strong authority, resolute authority.

Rog-Swiostek said that these seemingly contradictory demands and needs can and must be reconciled: Demands and needs for authority which is strong but which at the same time is democratic. These trends and views must be reconciled because we are threatened with general incapacitation [ubezwlasnowolnienie], he said. One condition is that centralism must never suppress democracy. He then said that there must be freedom in discussion and discipline in action. These should be our most important pointers to the future. He also spoke about Solidarity. He polemicized over certain theses in the Solidarity document [words indistinct] ideological platform of the trade union, namely that Solidarity states at one point that responsibility for the country can only rest on Solidarity's shoulders. He said this perhaps not quite accurately. This document states that Solidarity is the sole guarantee for renewal in Poland. The speaker argued against this stand and then he accused Solidarity of wanting to transfer this practical responsibility for the country onto the shoulders of only one side while it itself adopts smart slogans and formulations which are exceedingly quick to catch on but which are not enough at this point in time.

The next speaker, the 24th--and this speech ended 15 minutes ago--was Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. I must admit frankly that it would be exceptionally difficult to give a report on this political speech. Let me perhaps give you just a very general outline.

Stefan Olszowski said: We are holding a session at a time when the condition of the state and its economy are very bad. At the same time there exists a general, as he put it, hankering for rational actions, for bold and original and controversial thoughts. But, Stefan Olszowski continued, people must be found who will also speak about unpopular matters and problems. This is what genuine concern for the state, for the superior interests of this state, requires. He talked about the debasement of Poland's position as a political and economic partner. He said that we ourselves must overcome the crisis which is wearing us down and also overcome inflation. We have to act in many directions. Social justice but at the same time strict economic conditions [as heard]--pardon me, I am quoting this from notes made in a hurry, fresh from the oven, so it is exceptionally difficult to give here some sort of rational summing up. I think we shall get a chance to do this in later reports.

He spoke of attempts to stir up emotions among the public, to undermine all our achievements, the achievements of People's Poland. He spoke about a certain propaganda hysteria which exists in Poland: the hysteria which to some extent affects our propaganda. Criticism, sharp criticism of our propaganda, continues to be on the increase. Next, Stefan Olszowski defended the propaganda line claiming that one cannot fail to notice the great changes that have taken place in the work of the mass media, including radio, television and the press. But some people do not wish to notice this and they only and exclusively increase their criticism forgetting about certain internal and external conditions and also about the fact that too short a time has gone by to complely transform this propaganda style. We are still learning. He admitted that we still often make mistakes but there must also be good will in order to assess this propaganda as a whole. Like the preceding speaker Rog-Swiostek, Olszowski also polemicized over the ideological platform of Solidarity. He spoke much about the economic situation and the economic reform. He continued by saying that the ninth congress will without any shadow of a doubt decide Poland's future and so the preparations for the congress are very important as is the work on the theses. He spoke about the work of the Secretariat of the Congress Commission of which he is in charge. He spoke about the Soviet Union's political and economic role in overcoming the difficulties which we are living through right now. Let me add in conclusion that Stefan Olszowski's half-hour speech was received with applause.

General Koczara, Shipyard Worker

LD292227 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio reporter and editor Slawomir Szof from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] We broadcast our last report in our evening newscast at 1900. We also broadcast the speeches of the successive speakers and now I would like to inform you that after the evening break at 2008, that is not quite an hour ago, the plenum resumed its debates.

Up to now the speakers have been: Janina Skubinski, from Krosno; Gen Henryk Koczara, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces; Jan Labecki, first secretary of the party enterprise committee in Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; and Andrzej Werblan, Central Committee member and director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute.

Speaking at this moment is Henryk Kostecki, first secretary of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship party committee.

So far 28 Speakers took part in the discussion on the Politburo report which was read by Stanislaw Kania. Henryk Kostecki is the 29th speaker. I may add that more than 50 speakers are on the list and this means that the debates will no doubt go on into the later hours of the evening.

Now briefly about this evening's speeches.

Janina Skubinski. This was the 15th voice from the hinterland, a worker's voice. She spoke about daily problems, the very difficult, very complicated problems of social and national dimensions. She said that the market situation, the economic, cooperative situation is a real test of strength to party members. There are many disappointments, many breakdowns, but the party, judging by Krosno and its enterprises, is gathering strength. The party wants strong, wise support from the Central Committee. She addressed this appeal to members of this session and to Central Committee members.

General Koczara. The party's strength is determined by its ideology. Neglect in the sphere of Marxist theory has caused our present lack of support by theoretical thoughts, so very much needed in the present transformations which are taking place in the country. In the Armed Forces, General Koczara said, great importance was always attached and is being attached to work, ideological discussions and Marxist training.

We shall not deviate from the course of socialist renewal, the general said on behalf of the officers and soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces. We are improving our ideological-educational work. With their work and service the Armed Forces express their full trust and support for the government which is working under the direction of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Now Jan Labecki, no doubt known to you as first secretary of the enterprise committee in Lenin Shipyard. He said, in part:

For the first time a Politburo report has satisfied us. We can identify ourselves with many opinions and views expressed in the report. We can recognize them as our own. We lacked this 3-4 months ago.

This was a reference to other papers which provided the basis for discussions at previous plenary sessions.

Labecki then spoke about important daily problems, such as repossessing housing a very painful significant problem. He suggested amendments to the housing laws. Otherwise, he stated, we shall not be able to emerge from the housing problems which are piling up.

Further on, he referred to an exceptionally controversial subject, that is, the horizontal structures active in the party. He said that these should become, in the well-understood interests of party, that is, that this forum should be recognized as a fully credible forum, which is indispensable for exchanging views within the PZPR.

Why do workers not want to accept party posts? This was referred to in the Politburo report and this subject was also mentioned in discussions. Comrade Labecki said this: They do not want to accept posts because they do not feel capable enough, they do not have [words indistinct], because there is no full credibility of (?authority). Workers simply do not want any kind of party duties or posts. They do not want to lose the confidence which they enjoy from their work forces. They fear that they may lose face, may lose their standing by holding leading posts. Comrade Labecki considered this matter exceptionally important. The point is that when party authorities will be fully credible, then we shall not be complaining of a shortage of men willing to work, to take up posts in PZPR ranks.

Comrade Labecki--and [words indistinct], and this does happen--said that production results for the first quarter in Lenin's Shipyard were very promising. But--and this is a paradox--the self-government of enterprises carries certain threats. In the case of Lenin Shipyard this is the threat of breaking off cooperative links. Every enterprise wants to work in its own way, to make its own selection of priority production and cooperation, and in the case of our shipyard which is correctly basing itself on cooperation with the whole of Poland, this can mean certain defined dangers: the breaking off of these cooperative links.

That is why he appealed for moderation and commonsense in implementing reforms and also in the demand by various enterprises to become self-governing. Self-government is all right, it is absolutely good. But we must not lose sight of national goals.

Andrzej Werblan ended his speech a moment ago. It is difficult at this moment to report on the main points of his speech.

JARUZELSKI ON TASKS, 'ANTI-SOVIET' SENTIMENTS

Report on Government Tasks

LD300022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio reporter and editor Slawomir Szof from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR plenum--live]

[Text] The 10th plenum is continuing its deliberations, which can now be called its late-night deliberations. Right now, as I utter these words, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the Politburo and premier, is speaking.

The premier began his speech at 0030. I shall try as briefly as possible, of course, to present to you the main points of this speech, at least the first part of this speech.

Premier Jaruzelski's report to the Central Committee concerned above all the current work being done by the government. He said that in May, at the next session of the Sejm, the government will submit further proposals on economic activities and on introducing the economic reform. But even today the government will send three important documents to the Sejm, including a report on the state of the economy. There is no doubt that we have been waiting a long time for this report. There is also a program of action in the sphere of economic stabilization for the next 3 years. The third document is an assessment of the proposals concerning the state of work on and progress made in the country's economic reform.

The premier said that this constitutes a whole complex of issues. The work on these documents was difficult and took place under difficult conditions. There still continue to be many unknown factors, for instance, our payments balance, coal extraction and [word indistinct], which cannot be defined as future short-term or long-term plans.

This is why there are variant but [word indistinct] formulations which at the same time make it possible, the premier said, to obtain at least a better orientation of the country's current economic situation, which is so difficult. The premier continued by saying plainly that we are approaching the depths of the crisis and the question is to what extent we shall control this process, and how we shall prevent it.

Finally how much longer [word indistinct]

What is the government doing? It is primarily undertaking emergency actions which will limit as much as possible the social effects of the economic crisis.

This is served by the organization of commodities, by actions aimed at retaining at any price [words indistinct] in operational language.

We are drafting a number of legal enactments with the participation of lawyers and representatives of the working class. To a large degree these will be (?enactments) reflecting the demands and the needs of the moment.

At the same time, systematic actions of strategic, long-range importance are being undertaken. They include the reorganization of the system of structures of governing our country and the reform of prices.

These will be, Premier Jaruzelski said, difficult operations, but ones which would give much hope and opportunities for overcoming the impasse, for the creation of healthy mechanisms for running our economy. The party, Premier Jaruzelski stressed, is the promoter of these reforms. Its support is and will continue to be necessary. That is why the party must rebuild its strength, its authority. The party's strength, its internal health, the premier said, is Poland's problem.

We want, he continued, the current talks with solidarity in the mixed commissions, set up on the government's initiative, to define the framework for cooperation and coresponsibility for the country, its economy, for the overcoming of the crisis. The government is endeavoring to bring the talks with Solidarity to that pitch.

The government, the premier stressed, will implement the agreements concluded. But in conformity with the recent Sejm resolution of the Sejm it will secure with greater consistency the functioning of the authorities. It will protect the raison d'etat of the socialist state.

The party, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski continued, can be more open to the outside, more ready for polemics in debate, providing it is more coherent inside, more united ideologically.

Turning once more to everyday economic matters, the premier drew attention to the necessity to tap all reserves still available in our economy. He said that the present, critical quarter will be most essential for the very near and more distant future. How will we get over this difficult time, when we are on the threshold of the next harvest? A great deal will depend on this.

He stressed the inevitability, the need for good, solid work. He said that the renewal also means solid, everyday work. It is the best passport and quarantee of renewal.

Premier Jaruzelski continues his speech. I will merely add that so far 36 speakers have taken part in the debate. The 36th whose voice we have not yet reported was Wladyslav Kruk, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Lublin. He devoted his speech mainly to intraparty problems, to the programmatic assumptions and to the draft statute of the PZPR.

Attitudes Called 'Unworthy'

LD300100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio reporter and editor Slawomir Szof from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] The plenary debate of the party Central Committee which started yesterday has already lasted 18 hours. The last speaker in the discussion on the Politburo report, the first part of which we reported an hour ago, was Premier and Politburo member Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Now we would like to bring to you the continuation of the interesting speech which was heard by those present with such attention. Premier Jaruzelski stated that to act in the spirit of socialist renewal means above all to think about people, about their worries and troubles, and to counteract every kind of nonsense, if only for example at the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

It is also necessary to show more solicitude for people who find themselves in a difficult situation. During the precongress period we must purge regulations and bills of those things which irritate people, including regulations on benefits and pensions. We should counteract indifference and red tape in relations with people. We must introduce a special system for the examination of complaints, so many of which reach various institutions but which are not always effectively considered in further action.

In economic life we lack the bait of thrifty systematic saving, in matters both great and small. The great ones include, for instance, the saving of coal. We should consistently settle accounts and take to task those who are guilty. This is also connected with the personnel policy.

The premier stated that we have good, educated and responsible cadres, but it is necessary to create proper conditions for action for these educated and responsible people.

The apparatus must be improved, but it must not be destroyed. It was with this sentence that the premier referred to the numerous voices criticizing the executive apparatus, of the state as well as of the party.

In the concluding part of his speech, the premier referred to the forthcoming anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite Fascism. He said that the memory of the liberation of Poland, for the demarcation of the western frontiers of Poland by Soviet soldiers with the help of Polish soldiers, should link us with the Soviet communists and the Soviet people [words indistinct] should guide us in the celebration of this anniversary.

In this context, the premier said, one is particularly angered by the wave of anti-Soviet statements and attitudes. Bearing in mind the 600,000 people who lie in this land, the 600,000 Soviet soldiers who died in the struggle for the liberation of Poland, such attitudes are morally unworthy.

PAP on Speech

LD301144 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 30 Apr 81

["Discussion at the 10th PUWP Plenary Meeting"--PAP headline]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 29 Apr (PAP)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

While expecting their publication in due time, the government is submitting to the Sejm a report on the state of the economy; a three-year programme of actions calculated to stabilize the economy, and the assessment of and remarks on the state of works and plans concerning the economic reform. This is a substantial package geared to the future.

What is the government doing at the moment? First, it is engaged in emergency actions aimed to appease or hamper the course and effects of the crisis. Second, there are long-term moves, which are still being implemented partially like bridge-heads of the reform proper. Third, there are systems actions of strategic importance, which form the mainstay of the reform and the basic condition for final success. They consist in restructuring of the system of management and the prices reform. These are going to be exceptionally tough socio-economic operations but they run a big chance of promoting success. They give us the chance to overcome the crisis and make progress and to create and secure sound mechanisms in tune with the economic rules of socialism.

The party was and continues to promote these reforms. It should restore its strength and consolidate its leading role and the sense of its historic message. The party's strength and its inner health are a matter of the entire working class, the nation, and Poland at large. There is no socialism without the leading role of the party, and without socialism there is no independent and secure Poland inscribed within convenient borders. That is the tough logic of the laws of history and of our national reality and experience.

Despite a grave crisis, our society broadly and almost universally approves socialism as a socio-political system and the idea of social justice. However, in order to let the line of agreement and constructive cooperation be consolidated and the broad plane for these be expanded, that are supported by an overwhelming majority of our society, party members and non-party people, believers and non-believers, and millions of trade unionists from various trade organizations, we need a clear-cut demarcation line to separate them from the destructive forces opposed to socialism which are blind with hatred and create extreme situations. Such situations are the reason for the concern for the stability of the state voiced also at this forum.

We want the current talks with the Solidarity and our initiative to set up joint commissions to specify the framework for cooperation, rights and duties and a uniform interpretation and observance of the notion of the rule of law. First of all, however, we want them to promote the awareness that the sense of co-responsibility for the country is the supreme cause. The government will put these agreements into practice. At the same time, though, in tune with the recent Sejm law, it should more consistently secure the conditions for the functioning of the authorities and protect and defend the reason of the socialist state.

The toughest period in economy happens to be the one preceding the party's congress. We approach it as our duty to work on programme guidelines of the 9th congress from now on. Renewal means honest everyday work first of all. To act in the spirit of socialist renewal means to act with an eye to the man and take better care of the poorest, the old, the disabled, and those deprived of family support.

We are going to pay special attention to prevention of bureaucracy.

There is need for intensifying efforts to promote economising actions. Economising on coal is one of the great problems at the moment.

There is need to improve the personnel policy and give a go ahead to cadres back-ups. We have to defend all the honestly working people of the people's authorities. This apparatus should be further perfected and not destroyed.

The 36th anniversary of the victory over Nazis is due in a few days. We have to cherish the memory of the liberation of Poland, of mapping out our border on the Odra, Nysa and the Baltic by Soviet and Polish soldiers and securing it. We should be aware of the Soviet economic aid and profitable cooperation with the Soviet partner in economy.

We should remember all that unites us. It hurts and inspires anger that different anti-Soviet tunes are repeatedly being played. Attacks against the values of our alliance are destructive in political terms, pernicious in economic terms and are base in moral terms, when we think of the 600 thousand of those who are buried in our soil. Soldiers of the Polish People's Army, who doing their duty within the Warsaw Treaty Organization, guard the peace, security and the borders of their homeland, also spare no efforts whenever they can while rendering their aid to society and the national economy.

KANIA VIEWS CONGRESS, DISCUSSIONS IN CLOSING SPEECH

LD300916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0616 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Closing speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 30 April--read by announcer]

[Text] Our discussions have come to an end. It has been emphasized that the discussions have met with the interest of the whole party and wide circles of society. We are leaving the discussion no less tired than others, but with a greater feeling of satisfaction.

We have examined the draft congress documents, the programmatic premises and amendments to the statute. These documents will have to be supplemented or made more precise. They must not only be weighty [nosny] but also realistic and practicable. The social costs of such promises, as we have already experienced, are high. These projects should be speedily subjected to discussion. We must not delay it because the set periods of time are short.

Another matter is the preparation of other documents for the congress, especially those which are connected with the plan to overcome the deep and acute economic crisis. We also propose the elaboration of a draft document on the centenary of the revolutionary workers' movement, a document which we desire to submit to the congress. Finally, and on the basis of numerous opinions which I encountered during the meeting at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk--similar proposals were also made from this rostrum--I believe that the coming congress should adopt an ideological declaration, a kind of party manifesto.

The party is approaching the congress with great hopes, convinced that it will bring a weighty [nosny], realistic and long awaited program, that it will elect and equip the central party authorities with a high moral authority and that it will consolidate the leading role of the party in society.

All this is defined by the progress of the precongress campaign. Today's session sets the congress clock in motion. We have 75 days until the opening of the debate. Every day must be precisely registered and planned so that it may be well utilized not only here at the central level in the Central Committee and in all its working links, but also at party echelons and organizations.

We desire to go the congress with a good program and with a vigorous party. We must do all we can to bring this about. During today's discussions various questions about the unity of our party were raised with great concern, questions about the ideological unity built on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, based on the socialist goals of our party and on Leninist principles. It has always been so, but at present, when the trade union movement is divided, this is particularly significant. These divisions, as examples have shown, refer not only to organizational but also to political questions. This is why the party should be the main binding agent.

We emphasize that we have chosen an orientation for the political methods of solving the crisis. We are basing our plans and intentions in this sphere on our own forces. We confirm this once again. Let us not forget, however, that this will only become possible and realistic when a vigorous party is functioning in the country.

If this is lacking these plans will have been in vain. The strengthening of the party and its unity is, therefore, of national importance.

Our plenum has given an opportunity to exchange views on what is known as the grassroots movement in the party [ruch oddolny w partii]. It is not easy to speak on these matters. Many comrades are saying that we should not do anything that might make the situation more acute and create tension in the party organizations.

We in the Central Committee are very anxious that this should be so. [as heard] However, as far as upsetting matters are concerned one cannot give up one's right to vote because of the fact that we are members both of the party and its leadership.

Many of the comrades stressed that this movement of horizontal structures stems from dissatisfaction with everything that caused the conflicts and with all that happened in Poland following the great conflicts, and also from criticism of the work of the party leadership and of the Central Committee in particular.

Exciting discussions are being held at meetings, discussions stimulating thought and action by the party organizations. This is very good. We must not deny it. But as in many other fields, here too, it is not only the intentions that are important. The point is not only to assess these debates positively, the point is--and I am also stressing my concern about it--that durable structures should be set up. The point is the creation of leadership. The experience of 100 years of workers' movement confirms that the most important things is the party's ability not only to discuss but also to act in a disciplined way, based on a conscious discipline which originates from the conditions of the democratic life of our party. This is what brought the creation of the Leninist principles of building the party, principles which passed their test in the entire international movement. It was not the principles but their violation which caused our crisis. Our main task must be to return to these tested principles, to create fruitful, creative and deeply democratic relations in the party.

In the draft of the statute amendments we propose to introduce a new system of assessing party members. Up to now we only noticed those who violated the principles of the statutes, hence the existing system of punishments. For the first time we are also introducing a system of honoring party members. This is an essential addition to the statutes. We must honor selfless comrades who show initiative, who stand in the forefront and defend the good name of our party.

We have made changes in the composition of the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat. We welcome the new members of the Politburo, workers, Comrades Gerard Gabrys and Zygmunt Wronski. Increasing the role of workers in the life of the party is an important condition for strengthening the party, for strengthening its links with the working class and with nonparty people. We are not a party for ourselves. Our role is to lead but also to serve society.

Many important matters were touched upon during the plenary meeting, including matters concerning the economy, matters to be debated by us.

Among them is the issue of coal. It is a strategic problem for the country. We must find a way out of the present state of affairs which is marked by a 20 percent drop in extraction during the first quarter of this year. Together with the miners we shall seek methods to improve the situation. In accordance with the suggestion of Comrade Romaniuk, I shall soon be taking part, together with the miners, in a discussion on this subject of such immense importance for the whole country.

There are many phenomena which were mentioned during the discussion and which are creating a picture of real threats. These phenomena are demoralization anarchy, the action of various forces which do not disguise their counterrevolutionary plans.

Report-back and election meetings are taking place in the party. The precongress discussion will develop. All of us, members of the Central Committee, of the Politburo and of the central party apparatus will take an active part in it.

We invite everybody to this discussion. It is not only a congress program, it not only serves the party. It is a program linked to the fate of the entire nation. It is important that our program should be enriched as a result of the discussion. Together with the whole party we must seek an answer to the questions: What must be changed in order to increase the force of the party, to make a better life, to overcome the crisis, to enter the road of successful development?

We are ending the discussion with the conviction that it will serve the party well and serve the tasks which we have mapped out today.

POLITBURO, CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESIGNATIONS ANNOUNCED

Pinkowski, Wojtaszek, Wojtecki

LD300042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Report by unidentified Warsaw Radio correspondent from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the end of the 15th hour of the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, who is conducting the deliberations, without interrupting the discussions which are continuing, submitted organizational and personnel matters. He proposed that the resignation from the Politburo of Jozef Pinkowski be accepted. He said that the Politburo had already expressed its stance toward the attitudes and services of Comrade Pinkowski, among others as premier of our government. Stanislaw Kania said that these services were canceled by the fact that a change became necessary in the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. We want to entrust Comrade Pinkowski with other functions corresponding to his preparations and experience.

Next Stanislaw Kania proposed that the resignation of Emil Wojtaszek from the function of candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee be accepted. He would like to return to the diplomatic service.

Jerzy Wojtecki submitted a request to be relieved from the duty of secretary of the Central Committee in connection with his appointment by the Sejm as Minister of Agriculture.

Zbigniew Zielinski submitted his resignation as member of the Central Committee Secretariat.

The Central Committee voted, with five abstentions, to accept the resignation of Jozef Pinkowski from the Politburo; it also voted to accept the resignation of Emil Wojtaszek, with one vote against and six abstentions; of Jerzy Wojtecki, unanimously; and of Zbigniew Zielinski, with one abstention.

Stanislaw Kania proposed that the composition of the Politburo and of the Central Committee Secretariat be supplemented. But since there still has to be a secret vote on the nominations, we shall give you news on this subject in subsequent reports.

New Members

LD300304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Report by Warsaw Radio correspondents Malczynski and Szof from the studio of the PZPR Central Committee building in Warsaw at the close of the 29 April session of the 10th PZPR Plenum--live]

[Text] [Malczynski] The deliberations of the 10th plenum, which started yesterday at exactly 0900, are now coming to an end. In summing up the deliberations, Stanislaw Kania said that we are ending the deliberations in a state of fatigue but with a feeling of satisfaction that we have fulfilled an important duty toward the party by accepting the most important congress documents.

Today's session is setting the congress clock in motion. We have 75 days left before the congress and every one of these days must be used and planned well. Comrade Kania said that we must approach the congress as a strong party. The need for the party's ideological and organizational unity based on Leninist principles was correctly stressed during the deliberations. The situation in the country is such that we have, for example, a divided trade union movement. The party should be the main binding agent uniting everyone in joint action. We are winding up the deliberations, said Comrade Kania in the last [words indistinct], in the conviction that they have served the party well.

[Szof] Just a few moments ago the 10th plenary session of the Central Committee ended with the singing of the Internationale. At this moment the delgates are leaving the hall. It is time to say something about the results of this plenum. It lasted 20 hours. A total of 39 speakers spoke in the discussion on the Politburo report delivered by Stanislaw Kania. Now to the decisions of the plenum:

Personnel decisions: The following have been elected to the party Central Committee Politburo: Gerard Gabrys, explosives specialist at the Barbara Chorzow mine, and Zygmunt Wronski, core (rdzen) worker from the Ursus plant, member of the Central Committee and member of the party since 1950.

Jozef Masny, first secretary of the Opole Voivodship party committee, has been elected candidate member of the Politburo.

Kazimierz Cypryniak, first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship party committee, has become a secretary of the Central Committee.

Stanislaw Kania said this was the first step toward expanding local representation and at the same time toward bringing in representatives of the working class into the supreme party bodies.

The results of the voting: The voting was secret. Out of the 143 members of the Central Committee, 132 took part in the deliberations and cast 123 valid votes. Gerard Gabrys got 111 votes, Zygmunt Wronski 110, Jozef Masny 107 and Kazimierz Cypryniak 87.

Let me remind you at the same time that the Central Committee accepted in open voting the resignation of Jozef Pinkowski from the position of Politburo member, Emil Wojtaszek from the positions of candidate Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, Jerzy Wojtecki, from the position of secretary of the Central Committee, in connection with the Sejm appointing him as minister of agriculture, and Zbigniew Zielinski, from the position of member of the Central Committee Secretariat.

The Central Committee has recalled from its membership Jozef Buzinski and Jozef Majchrzak and has recalled from the Central Party Control Commission Teresa Andrzejewska and Antoni Majdzinski.

The Central Committee has adopted resolutions. First, the most important one, has been adopted unanimously. This is a resolution by the Central Committee on the calling of the Ninth Special PZPR Congress and the elections of the delegates to the congress. This resolution reads: The Central Committee decides to call the Ninth Special PZPR Congress for 14-18 July 1981 in Warsaw, with the following agenda: First, the report of the Central Committee entitled: Tasks of the Party in the Development of Socialist Democracy, Strengthening the Leading Role of the PZPR in the Construction of Socialism and Stabilization of the Sociopolitical Situation in the Country. Second: debate. Third: Adoption of programmatic resolutions. Fourth: Changes in the PZPR Statute. Fifth: Elections of the central party authorities.

The Central Committee has established the details of the elections of delegates. The delegates are to be elected in the following proportion: one delegate for 1700 members and candidate members of the party.

The delegates will be elected at voivodship, works, and educational establishment conferences and at conferences in the People's Armed Forces of Poland. The delegates for the congress are to be elected by party works and educational establishment centers which have 850 or more members and candidate members. The works and educational establishment conferences at the organizations numbering from 850 to 1,700 members and candidates have the right to elect 1 candidate. Organizations with greater numbers of members are elected along the same principles as at the voivodship conferences. These are the most essential details from this resolution.

The Central Committee adopted the following resolutions in the matter of precongress discussions and in the matter of election of a party control commission during the present election campaign.

[Malczynski] During the discussion, attention was drawn at many points to the need for speeding up work connected with bringing to account members of the leadership and in connection with this the committee today adopted a resolution in the matter of appointing a commission to assess the previous course of work and to speed up work in the matter of investigating the responsibility of members of the Central Committee in fulfilling leadership functions.

This commission of 15 persons consisting mainly of members of the Central Committee employed directly in the production sector is headed by Comrade Tadeusz Grabski.

[Szof] So we have given you as briefly as possible the results of the ninth plenum of the party Central Committee which lasted a record 20 hours. For the first time we have been reporting on the proceedings of a plenum from the corridors adjoining the deliberations hall. We went on the air at 1000 yesterday, which seems so far away. We have broadcast a total of a dozen or so reports trying to convey to you the main contents and atmosphere of these very important deliberations. Now we wish you a good and calm day and say goodbye.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS ON CONGRESS, TASKS

Precongress Discussions Urged

LD300824 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 30 Apr 81

["Resolution of the Central Committee on the Matter of Precongress Discussion"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee submits for general party and national discussion the draft of the programmatic assumptions for the development of socialist democracy and for strengthening the leading role of the PZPR in socialist construction and in the stabilization of the country's socioeconomic situation. The Central Committee submits for general party discussion the draft of amendments and additions to the PZPR Statute. The Central Committee appeals to all party organizations and echelons to continue the businesslike and creative precongress discussion. During this discussion the experience, opinions and views submitted by primary party organizations and party committees and stemming from individual conversations with members and candidate members of the party should be examined and used.

The Central Committee expects that the press, radio and television will give extensive coverage to the draft programmatic materials which have been prepared for the ninth congress and will take up the main issues relating to precongress discussion. The Central Committee expresses the conviction that taking an active part in the precongress discussion of the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress will be activists from the allied parties--the ZSL and the SD--and from social organizations and the professional, youth and women's movement, and all working people from the towns and villages who cherish the future of our socialist fatherland, the Polish People's Republic.

Resolution on Convening Congress

LD300827 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 30 Apr 81

["Resolution of the Central Committee in the Matter of Convening the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the Election of Delegates to the Congress"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee has decided to convene the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress 14-18 July 1981 in Warsaw with the following agenda: the report of the Central Committee on the tasks of the party in developing socialist democracy, in strengthening the leading role of the PZPR in socialist construction and in stabilizing the country's sociopolitical situation; debates; the adoption of program resolutions; changes in the statute of the PZPR; and elections of the central party authorities.

The Central Committee establishes the following norms of representation and the procedure for the election of delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress: The delegates should be elected in the following proportion: one delegate for 1,700 members and candidate members. The delegates will be elected at voivodship, factory and educational establishment conferences and at conferences in the Polish People's Army. The voivodship conferences will elect as many delegates as correspond with the membership of the voivodship party organization after the number of members and candidate members of party organizations who directly elect delegates to the congress are calculated. If in calculating the number of delegates which must be elected at a voivodship conference, the remainder which is left after dividing the number of members and candidate members by 1,700 is greater than 850, then the conference will elect one more delegate.

Factory and educational establishment party organizations which have 850 and more members and candidate members will elect delegates to the congress. Factory and educational establishment conferences in organizations numbering from 850 to 1,700 members and candidate members have the right to elect one delegate. In organizations which have a greater number of members, the delegates will be elected along the same principles as at voivodship conferences.

The election of delegates to the congress at party organizations of the Polish People's Army will be held at party conferences of military districts and in arms of the Armed Forces--the air force troops, the national air defense troops, the navy, the border protection guards, groups of road and rail units, and also central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense and the group of the Vistual unit [nadwislanska jednostka] of the Ministry of Internal Affairs--according to the same principles as at voivodship conferences.

The basis for calculating the number of delegates to the congress will be the number of members and candidate members on 31 December 1980. The Central Committee recommends that candidates for delegates should be appointed during the course of extensive intraparty consultations by taking into account the opinions of their home party organizations and by presenting their professional achievements and party activities.

The Central Committee appeals to the whole party for delegates to be elected from among those comrades who represent high ideological-moral standards, who are experienced in political activity and who have distinguished themselves through activity and a high sense of responsibility in party work. The Central Committee expresses the conviction that workers and peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia, and party and social activists who enjoy general respect and trust will be elected as congress delegates. The composition of the delegates should fundamentally correspond with the socio-professional and generational structure of the party organizations. The election of delegates to the ninth congress at voivodship, factory and educational establishment conferences should be conducted in accordance with the principles of the temporary regulations governing the election of authorities and delegates of the PZPR adopted by the Central Committee at its ninth plenum.

Control Commissions Resolution

LD300816 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 30 Apr 81

["Resolution of the Central Committee on the Election of Party Control Commissions During the Course of the Present Election Campaign"]

[Text] The proposal that party control commissions be elected by conferences and not, as is laid down in the party statute, by plenary sessions of party committees is being made on a widespread scale in the continuing party discussion. This will enhance their status and will stress the independent nature of these important party organs which care for the ideological-moral purity of its ranks. This solution is proposed by the Congress Commission in the draft amendments to the PZPR Statute.

In this connection, the Central Committee decides that it will permit party control commissions to be elected by conferences in voivodship, urban, urban-parish, parish and also factory PZPR organizations which support such an election procedure. The Central Committee will urge the ninth extraordinary congress to approve this generally awaited procedure for electing the party control commission.

NEW PZPR POLITBURO MEMBER GABRYS INTERVIEWED

LD300848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Interview given by Gerard Gabrays, newly-elected member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, to Warsaw Radio correspondent Jerzy Malczynski on 30 April in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] [Question] During the deliberations of the 10th Central Committee plenum, two members of the Central Committee who are workers were elected to the Politburo. One of them is Comrade Gerard Gabrys, an explosives expert from the Barbaramine. I would like to ask you, comrade, what you would like above all to [words indistinct]?

[Answer] I am perfectly well aware of the responsibility that has been placed on me and Comrade Wronski. We want to truly represent the workers in this Politburo so that the Politburo will get an idea of what things are really like at the grassroots level.

[Question] I think you will have a great deal of work to do in this sphere before the congress.

[Answer] That's for sure.

[Question] Tell us a few (?things) about yourself.

[Answer] I began working in the mines in 1948 as a 15-year-old boy. I attended a primary professional school and began to work down below during my second year there. After completing the primary mining school, I worked as a junior miner, a miner and then as a front-ranking explosives miner. I (?am) now an explosive instructor.

[Question] And in the party?

[Answer] Since 1963.

[Question] And in the Central Committee?

[Answer] Since 1975 and the seventh congress.

PZPR WOULD-BE OBSERVERS REFUSED ADMISSION TO PLENUM

LD292032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Representatives of the forum for party understanding from Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Katowice, Lodz, Olsztyn, Pabianice, Poznan, Szczecin, Wloclawek, Wroclaw and Torun who wished to participate in the debates of the 10th plenum as observers arrived in Warsaw today.

This was in conformity with the proposal sent to members of the PZPR leadership who were present on the 15th of this month at the forum for party understanding in Torun.

The observers who arrived at the PZPR Central Committee were received by Zygmunt Olesinski, head of the Central Committee office for letters and interventions, and by Ryszard Lukasziwicz, candidate member of the Central Committee, who informed them that according to a Politburo decision, observers cannot even listen to the discussion in the so-called listening room, situated in the Central Committee building, for technical reasons and because of the principles which have until now governed the conduct of plenary debates.

The observers conveyed this information to all the party echelons which sent them to Warsaw. The observers also issued a communique stating that the refusal to allow them to be present during the debates appears to prove that the domineering system of the highest party echelons contains a strong trend toward anonymity, which violates the statutory principle of openness of party life.

Admission Demanded

LD292124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Members of the party alert group [pogotowie] in Torun, who represent over 25 party organizations, have adopted a resolution which, because admission to the debating hall of the 10th plenum was refused to a representative of the consultative commission of the party organizations and the party alert group in Torun and also to other representatives of horizontal structures from throughout the country, demands that the Torun comrades be allowed to directly observe the debates of the 10th Central Committee Plenum in accordance with the stance of the precongress forum of party accord. They also demand that the Central Committee members from Torun, Comrades Najdowski and Bieniaszewski, submit a formal proposal on the issue at the Central Committee forum.

The party organization of the Pomeranian electric apparatus factory Ema-Apator in Torun has sent a telex instructing Zygmunt Najdowski, as a member of its party organization, to put forward a formal proposal at the plenum concerning the admission of members of the party alert group and horizontal structures from throughout the country into the debating hall as observers. The participation of representatives delegated by lower party ranks, we read in the telex message, would be proof to us of the implementation of democratization in central echelons.

The consultative team of the basic party organization in Pabianice town, which is taking part in today's party alert action, conveyed a statement in which it demands that the 10th Central Committee Plenum take a decisive stand on the proposal put forward by numerous basic party organizations that the election of delegates for the ninth extraordinary congress should be conducted directly in single delegate constituences.

GDANSK PZPR ORGANIZATIONS VIEW POLITBURO REPORT

LD292046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Party organizations from Gdansk which met at a joint session, after having acquainted themselves with the Politburo report [read at today's PZPR Central Committee Plenum] took the following stand as regards some of the issues presented in the report:

First, we reiterate the stand of the Gdansk Voivodship organization--which has been stated several times before--that the party leadership may be elected exclusively from among the delegates empowered by their local organizations; the mandates must remain in force during the entire term of office.

Second, we support the project of setting up a special team for calling to account all those responsible for political errors; however, we cannot agree that the team would be composed of representatives of top-ranking party and state authorities.

Third, we demand [words indistinct] (?recognition) of various forms of horizontal consultations among basic party organizations as an essential element of internal party integration and democracy.

[Words indistinct] certain problems presented in the report delivered at the PZPR 10th Central Committee Plenum.

CLEAR STAND ON ISSUES DEMANDED OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LD300014 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] The Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee Stanislaw Kania are receiving telegrams in which views are expressed by primary party organizations on matters under discussion at the plenum.

Among other things, the authors of the messages are demanding that the Central Committee should clearly define its attitude on matters concerning the economy, changes of organizational structures, and expulsions from the party authorities, including the Politburo, of those who are against renewal, and in particular those who are against renewal in the party.

Protests are also being expressed against the formation of the commission for matters of responsibility for errors and irregularities from the present Central Committee membership.

Such telegrams have been sent in from party organizations in Gdansk, Torun, Wloclawek, Szczecin and Katowice.

PZPR LEADERS ADDRESS PARTY AKTIVS IN FACTORIES

AU291455 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Apr 81 pp 1, 5

[PAP report: "Before the Ninth Special PZPR Congress--Strengthening the Party's Role and Authority"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] PREPARATIONS FOR THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS CONTINUE IN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

At many meetings and in the course of the accountability and election campaign, people are discussing--against the background of the country's socioeconomic situation--the problems of the party's functioning, the means to restore the party's trust within society, development of intraparty democracy and improvements in the style of the work by party apparatus branches and basic party organizations.

Representatives of the PZPR central authority continue to attend workers meetings.

On 24 April, Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with Szczecin shipyards party aktivs; Jerzy Waszczuk, PZPR candidate Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with the aktivs of the Polkowice coal mine in the Legnica Basin; and Central Committee Secretary Zdzislaw Kurowski met with the members of the party executive committees of the 15 largest industrial enterprises in Bialystok. The plenum of the PZPR plant committee of the Warski Shipyards in Szczecin discussed issues connected with the coming 10th plenum and the ninth congress of the party. The plant committee plenum was attended by first secretaries of the Odra District of Szczecin.

Referring to the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, shipyards party secretary Zenon Pyda expressed the satisfaction of party members that the date of the ninth congress had been determined and that the decision had been made to hold party elections. THE PARTY'S WISDOM ALSO WAS SHOWN IN AUTHORIZING AND OBLIGATING GEN WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI'S GOVERNMENT TO SOLVE THE CRISIS POLITICALLY. These were decisions in keeping with the sentiments of all party members.

The discussion stressed that the ninth congress must fulfill the hopes of not only party members, but all working people and the nation.

COMPLETE OPENNESS OF LIFE WAS ANOTHER ISSUE OF THE MEETING'S DISCUSSION. The meeting demanded, inter alia, more detailed information on talks with foreign delegations and on the debates in party apparatus branches. It stressed that intraparty information was still incomplete, and that the system of its functioning was inefficient.

THE MEETING ALSO DISCUSSED THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL PARTY CONTROL COMMISSION IN INTRAPARTY LIFE, AND PROPOSED THAT THE COMMISSION SUPPLY THE CONGRESS DELEGATES WITH THE EVALUATIONS OF PEOPLE REMOVED FROM THEIR POSTS.

It should be stressed in that connection that the meeting discussed at length the issue of the responsibility borne by members of the former leaderhsip, including E. Gierek and P. Jaroszewicz, for the present crisis, and asked for serious sanctions against such people.

Replying to questions, K. Barcikowski spoke twice. REFERRING TO REQUESTS FOR AN EXACT VERIFICATION AND SOLID APPRAISAL OF THE HIGHEST PARTY AND STATE LEADERSHIP IN THE PAST 10 YEARS, HE EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT IT WILL NO DOUBT BE DONE IN FULL BY THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS. Replying to many statements on the so-called cadre job rotation, he expressed concern lest a situation evolve in which people are punished exclusively for working in the party apparatus. As for the extensively discussed issue of the party's horizontal structures, he said that there were no structures that were bad in themselves. If such structures can be absorbed by the party, then there is nothing untoward in them. But if they are organized outside the party, then it is hard to accept them, because they may eventually disrupt the party.

As for Edmund Baluka, former chairman of the strike committee in the Warski Shipyards in Szczecin in 1970-71, who had illegally stayed in the West for 8 years and how now returned to Poland, K. Barcikowski said that the issue would have to be solved somehow, although it would not be easy. The best thing would be for Baluka himself to clarify some problems of his illegal stay abroad and his return home.

K. BARCIKOWSKI DEVOTED MUCH TIME TO THE MOST RECENT VISIT TO OUR COUNTRY BY A CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE DELEGATION. He extensively discussed Polish-Soviet relations against the background of that visit, and said that he who hits at those relations hits at the Polish raison d'etat. We should bear that in mind, especially here in Szczecin. There would be no Poland here except for the Polish-Soviet alliance. We have lived in peace for 36 years, but we always seem to think that peace has been given to us once and for all.

Jerzy Waszczuk met with the Polkowice mine party aktivs in the copper basin.

DURING THE DISCUSSION, LASTING SEVERAL HOURS, THE MEETING TACKLED THE MOST CRUCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION, ESPECIALLY THE REHABILITATION OF THE PARTY'S SOCIAL AUTHORITY. Most questions from the floor were marked by concern for an honest clarification of the reasons for and the nature of the present crisis, and for a consistent implementation of socialist renewal. The meeting demanded squaring accounts with and punishing those who caused the present situation.

The meeting stressed the need to create statutory, formal guarantees to protect the PZPR against violations of intraparty democracy and against corruption of power. Much attention was given to the issue of the so-called horizontal structures in the party and of making the existing party structures credible.

J. WASZCZUK SAID AMONG OTHER THINGS THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRAISED THE INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE HORIZONTAL CONTACTS AMONG PARTY ORGANIZATIONS BECAUSE SUCH CONTACTS ARE A WAY TO INVIGORATE THEIR ACTIVITY. However, he stressed that such contacts must not lead to creating permanent structures and to passing resolutions binding on members of party organizations. Working out a joint stand on problems is the most that horizontal cooperation can be allowed to produce. Even decisions and resolutions should be made only within the framework of the existing structures.

AS J. WASZCZUK REAFFIRMED, THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING AGREED THAT THE FATE OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL IN OUR COUNTRY DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON THE PARTY, WHICH IS FACING VERY IMPORTANT TASKS IN THAT CONNECTION, ESPECIALLY THE TASK OF JUDICIOUSLY RESPONDING TO SOCIAL DEMANDS AND NEEDS IN GOOD TIME.

J. Waszczuk agreed against many views insisting on the need to televise the 10th party plenum live in order, inter alia, to make party work credible, and against statements doubting the social harmfulness of KOR, the Confederation for Independent Poland and other antisocialist forces.

The main subject of Z. Kurowski's meeting in Bialystok was the campaign before the ninth party congress.

Z. Kurowski acquainted the meeting with the draft resolution for the coming 10th party plenum, and said that the draft had been prepared in good time to be presented for consultation at such meetings. IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO PROPOSE OBSERVATIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION AND THE OTHER DOCUMENTS THAT WILL BE DISCUSSED AND ADOPTED AT THE 10TH PLENUM. The meeting submitted many questions on various topics, including the election of party authorities and congress delegates, and stressed that such comrades must not be selected from outside the party organization concerned. The meeting also demanded that the 10th plenum should be open. Z. Kurowski informed the meeting about the friendly visit paid to Poland by the CPSU Central Committee delegation.

REPORT ON DISCUSSION AT TORUN PARTY FORUM

AU291350 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 Apr 81 p 8

[Michel Ksiezarczyk report: "Movement in the Party: The Top and Bottom"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] "IN TEAM 1 OF THE CENTRAL CONGRESS COMMISSION, WE EXAMINED EACH DEMAND ADDRESSED TO US CLOSELY AND IN EARNEST." THAT IS ONE OPINION. "I AM SURPRISED THAT THE MATERIALS OF THE CENTRAL COMMISSION CONTAIN SO FEW OF OUR REMARKS." THAT IS ANOTHER OPINION. SO HOW IS IT? IS THE CENTRAL CONGRESS COMMMSSION SUPPOSED TO REFLECT THE OPINIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS OBTAINED FROM PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND VOIVODSHIP COMMISSIONS, OR TO IMPOSE ITS SOLUTIONS AND WAY OF THINKING?

The conference [in Torun on 15 April] convened on the initiative of team 1 of the Central Congress Commission, owing to the endeavors of the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism. It was devoted to the role of the party in the process of socialist renewal. That was a meeting of representatives of various voivodships who knew very little or nothing about each other's activities, and whose knowledge about that was frequently restricted to rumors, usually reaching them in the shape of leaks from [upper] echelons, about heresies, factions, a split or even the formation of a new party.

In his speech, Zdzislaw Kurowski, Central Committee secretary and chairman of team 1 in the Central Congress Commission, brought to the fore the question of the party's role. "The suggestion to reduce the party's role to ideological guidance alone should be qualified as a utopic, idealistic idea contradicting the Leninist concept of a party of a new type," Secretary Kurowski stated. "ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS ESSENTIAL AND PRESSING TO ELIMINATE ALL DEFORMATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACCUMULATING FOR YEARS IN THE WAYS AND METHODS OF EXERTING THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE."

THE AUDIENCE LISTENED TO REPORTS WITH SOME IMPATIENCE, SINCE THEY WERE MOSTLY WAITING FOR THE DISCUSSION. WHAT IS NOTEWORTHY IS THAT THE MOST RADICAL SPEAKERS MADE RESERVATIONS THAT THEY WERE VOICING THE OPINIONS OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THOSE REPRESENTING CONSERVATIVE VIEWS SPOKE ON THEIR OWN BEHALF. THERE WAS A SORT OF FASHION PREDOMINANT IN STATING ONE'S ADHERENCE TO THE HARD LINE: WHENEVER SOMEONE WAS CLOSE TO CONSERVATIVE IDEAS, HE IMMEDIATELY MADE RESERVATIONS THAT HE WAS A HARD-LINER WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE REACTION WHICH SUCH STATEMENTS WOULD AROUSE. THE DISCUSSION WAS AS FOLLOWS:

LUDWIK KRASUCKI: "THE ADVERSARIES OF OUR PARTY ALLEGE THAT IT IS NOT REFORMABLE. SOME OF US SAY THAT NO REFORMS MUST BE CARRIED OUT. IN THE MEANWHILE, WE WILL NOT ATTAIN THE REFORMABILITY OF THE SYSTEM WITHOUT REFORM IN THE PARTY."

The movement from the rank and file in the party is being regarded as a chip of the trade union movement. Others are trying to find some demons in it, and still others regard that movement with indulgence, as a rash that will subside soon. But the movement from the rank and file does not desire anything other than finding an agreement with the leadership. At the beginning, the question was: Against whom? Then it was: Against what? Now we are settling the question: What for? An answer is still to be found to the question: For whom?

Democratic centralism? Let us agree that thus far we have not been familiar with democratic centralism; what we had was autocratic centralism. 'Democratic centralism' is well worn, but its substance is completely unknown in practice. The point of democratizing relations in the party is to give something to some without taking anything away from others. We must not, at the expense of centralism, take away too much from the top, and we must not, at the expense of democracy, give too little to the bottom.

The clues most frequently repeated in the speeches were: the need for change in the party, the need for giving the principle of democratic centralism proper proportions, for utilizing in the party the movement from the bottom to the top and the emerging horizontal structures.

LECH WITKOWSKI, FROM TORUN: "DECISIVE IS THE POINT OF WHETHER OUR PARTY CAN AFFORD A NEW POLITICAL IDEA. BASIC ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN USED FOR LISTENING TO EVERYBODY EXCEPT EACH OTHER. THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS IS THUS FAR NOW KNOWN. WHEN WE OFFICIALLY INQUIRED ABOUT THAT, WE WERE TOLD THAT WAS AN ISOLATED QUESTION. HENCE, THERE IS PRECISELY THE NEED FOR HORIZONTAL CONTACTS, TO PRECLUDE THE FEELING OF ISOLATION."

ZBIGNIEW KAMECKI, FROM WARSAW: "I AM SHOCKED AND CONCERNED TO SEE THAT IN THE DRAFT STATUTES THERE IS TOO MUCH ABOUT THE ECHELONS AND TOO LITTLE ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS THEMSELVES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRINCIPLES OF PARTY APPARATUS' ACTIVITY SHOULD BE DEFINED IN THE STATUTES, AND NOT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THERE MUST BE A CLEAR STATEMENT THAT THAT IS AN EXECUTIVE APPARATUS. THE TERM OF OFFICE IN THAT APPARATUS MUST ALSO BE RESTRICTED, BECAUSE EVEN THE WISEST PEOPLE ARE BOUND TO GROW STUPID IF THEY SPEND ALL THEIR ADULT LIVES WORKING IN THE APPARATUS--THE STUDENT, THE YOUTH AND THEN THE PARTY APPARATUS."

A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BIALYSTOK VOIVODSHIP CONGRESS COMMISSION (in this case, names are basically irrelevant, since we are not dealing with private views): "IT SHOULD BE SAID CLEARLY WHAT THE RENEWAL CONSISTS OF AND WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO TO MAKE IT SO. THE OLD LANGUAGE--'IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE MEASURES,' 'WE WILL ACT FOR THE BENEFIT'--IS UNSUITABLE HERE. BUT WHY SHOULD WE WAIT UNTIL THE CONGRESS TO RESTRICT THE PERMANENT STAFF [nomenklatura] WHOSE ENORMOUS GROWTH HAS BEEN SO WIDELY CRITICIZED? WHY MUST WE WAIT TO CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF PARTY COMMITTEES, WITH THEIR DEPARTMENTS COINCIDING WITH MINISTRIES?"

Wieslaw Ciesielski, Mielec: "Which are the statutary clauses that should protect us from rascals in the party, particularly in th leadership? We will be confronted with the practice and it will be decisive, even if we put down whatever we like."

A representative of the Szczecin Voivodship Congress Commission: "It is a pity we hurried without any need, that we were preparing for the congress to be held soon. We at the party bottom will not be able to endure another conflict. There should be centralism in the party, but it does not need to imply exclusively directing."

Slawomir Bautenbach from the Gdansk Voivodship Congress Commission: "After each crisis, the new team says that it will be better, that 'the time has come to work, we know what has to be done and leave governing to us.' What is going on in Poland--including the manner in which the central Congress Commission was formed--proves that the way the leadership has been behaving was dictated precisely by such an attitude. A program for action is needed, and its lack is deepening the crisis in confidence. The lack of a program for reforms in the party is strengthening not only the conservative elements and dogmatists, but also the adversaries of our system. It is being said that the Gdansk organization, along with Solidarity, oppose the central policy. One should have been in Gdansk in August to see those central authorities in action...."

Gdansk again: "Since representatives of the Warsaw Congress Commission and the Higher School of Social Sciences are here advocating the view that horizontal structures are bad, let me ask them when they have recently been at the meeting of a basic party organization, an enterprise organization. The party top does not think of what has to be done as intensively as the party bottom," because we sustain the pressure of the collective and because, in addition to the enterprise committee, there is Solidarity and there are branch trade unions. We do not have a monopoly on competence, but we demand that the central materials be supplemented with alternative proposals from voivodship congress commissions."

Julitta Glebocka, from the Higher School of Social Sciences, was the next to take the floor. She stated that the guiding or leading role should not be discussed, since the party must rule, and some people would like to materialize in Poland not scientific socialism, but "some sort of so-called socialism," and endeavor not to restore the PZPR as a Marxist-Leninist party, but strive for the so-called renewal of the PZPR as a social democratic party, or close to the model of an American party.

Certainly, there are such opinions, but they were not voiced at the conference. Therefore, to whom were those accusations addressed?

The subject of vocabulary was discussed by Prof Kazimerza Doktora: "I move to erase from the materials the word 'return' and move not returning to an equilibrium in the economy, because such an equilibrium has never existed, and not returning to Leninist principles, because they have never been applied."

Some 40 speakers took the floor in the discussion. The results were not summed up; they will be summed up by the ninth congress. Zdzislaw Kurowski pointed out two factors which will be decisive for the congress proceedings: 1) The elaboration of a party program by the totality of party members, and 2) Confidence in the bodies preparing the congress, or in the Congress Commission and the Central Committee. It is necessary to get rid of bias, to rapidly amend what has been bad and to define a proper attitude to movements from the rank and file. Does this signify a full thaw, or just the initial breaking of ice? Secretary Kurowski insists that there is no time for ice breaking and that there must be spring in its plenitude.

BARCIKOWSKI, GRABSKI, NEY PARTICIPATE IN PARTY DEBATES

LD291504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Party debates in preparation for the ninth congress continued yesterday. Kazimerz Barcikowski participated in a conference at the Lenin Steelworks. Tadeusz Grabski took part in a 2-day conference at the Konin coal mine, and Roman Ney attended a meeting of the central Krakow party organization.

A unanimous motion passed by the largest party district organization in Krakow emphasized, among other things, that political reform should lead to a [word indistinct] analysis of trade union cooperation in joint management, and that it is the duty of all echelons and members of the party to defend the existence of the trade unions and to seek the best possible conditions for their activities.

LENIN WORKS CONFERENCE PREPARES FOR NINTH CONGRESS

LD291106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] The 15th report-back and election conference of the PZPR at the Lenin steelworks ended at 0220 this morning. The conference saw earnest and businesslike discussion dominated by the trend of renewal and the party organizations's place in the process. The demand was often repeated for squaring up accounts with those who by bombastically claiming that they were reconstructing Poland led the country to the crisis. Demands were made to deprive them of the privileges and property accumulated by the abuse of authority and by making use of their position to obtain private gains.

There was also talk about handling those opposed to renewal. Jan Labedzki, first secretary of the enterprise party committee at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, who was invited to the conference, gave a supporting vote to steelworks delegates by mentioning the fact that former voivodship party secretaries and former ministers still remain in the Central Committee.

We would like to have a renewed party, a truly Polish and workers party, Antoni (Krazaczek) said.

This desire, shared by the majority of comrades from the Nowa Huta works, is evident from a demand submitted by Jan Koprowski concerning the participation of workers in the Politburo thus increasing its composition with workers.

Comrades from the steelworks will bring a considerable load of problems, concern and hope to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The workers include: Miroslaw Bruzda, Stanislaw Jurek, Jan Koprowski, Kazimierz Minur, and Marian Wloch.

PARTY DEALING WITH 'ABUSE OF POWER' BY OFFICIALS

LD300030 Warsaw in English to Europe 2230 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] One of the socially most irritating matters of the moment, which has aroused enormous public interest, is that of the abuse of power by a certain number of persons who held high office in the country's political and economic administration in the recent past. This has taken the form of using office for personal gain, very often to construct luxurious homes, even several, by one person. Information on the legal liability of such persons and what is being done to bring them to book was presented by representatives of the attorney general's office in a meeting a few days ago with journalists who deal in social and legal affairs and who are affiliated in the Polish Journalists' Association.

The data presented by the attorney general's office speaks of 1,008 cases being passed by the prosecutor's office to the courts by the end of last year. These were specifically cases of the most serious economic crimes on which court proceedings are already under way or will be opened shortly. The indictments concern a total of 3,364 persons, of whom one third were the holders of high or influential offices. Of the 1,000 indictments almost one half concern various forms of illegal appropriation of property. Under this title more often than not are included cases of constructing private homes or summer residences, largely at the cost of the state and with the use of materials earmarked for state projects. A further 159 cases relate to crass mismanagement resulting in wastage while a further 51 indictments are for taking bribes. Forty one cases presently before the courts relate to the falsification of statistics concerning the production of individual plans or whole areas of industry.

Such are the outline data concerning the state of affairs as it existed some 4 months ago. The attorney general's office at the same time mentions that among the persons whose cases are under investigation are four former government ministers, seven deputy ministers and five former first secretaries of the province committees of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The assembled journalists were also informed that neither the former prime minister, Piotr Jarodzewicz, nor his son, Andrej, are under investigation.

Let it also be said that the party itself is very firmly getting its own house in order. Many persons who once held top political and administrative posts in the country have been deprived of party membership. Most recently, information was issued by the party's Central Control Committee that former Deputy Prime Minister and head of the National Planning Commission Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk, and former Metallurgy Industry Minister Franciszek Kaim have been stripped of party membership.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY DISCUSSES PARTY SHORTCOMINGS

LD301122 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 30 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] We read on page three of ZYCIE WARSZAWY that a new party program is needed. This title heads a discussion in ZYCIE WARSZAWY whose participants seek an answer to the following questions: What is the role of the party in the country to be, a leading or a directing [przewodnia czy kierwonicza] role? What substance is contained in these conceptions? Is the crisis in the country burdening the whole party or only its leadership? What should the democratization of party life consist of? What does the party expect from the 10th plenum and from the ninth congress?

In this press report I wish to acquaint listeners with excerpts from remarks by a participant in the discussion, a PZPR Central Committee member and brigade leader at the open hearth furnaces of Huta Warszawa, Zygmunt Gajewski. Here is his statement.

Zygmunt Gajewski remarked that it has been said that the leadership of the party has been more guilty than others. We do not believe that the leadership of the party consists only of the Politburo. We see the entire system right down to the very bottom, to the executives of the basic party organization. I came here directly from the report-back and election meeting of the Organization Department where this subject was sharply discussed. The matter was presented in such a way that the law has been treating persons in leading positions differently from those at the very bottom. What matters is that the law should be binding on all in an equal manner. Naturally, the statute also had faults. It did not embrace all matters. We desire to draft a statute which will clearly define the function of, for instance, first secretaries, irrespective of at what levels, from the Central Committee to the departmental party organizations, so that conclusions might be drawn at the right time and promptly concerning those comrades who are to fill this or that function in the party apparatus. However, the statute will not solve the problems on its own because what is needed is the right person and that person's willingness to fulfill the imposed tasks, and this must be followed by control which, at the right time, will take the person to account, show up mistakes in order to prevent what we are experiencing now. This is very important. Control is a great problem. It has not reacted in time to the evil which is now worrying us all.

All the matters discussed today were presented to the party, very extensively at the eighth congress. We relied that the leadership elected at the eighth congress would tackle them, that it would solve these matters. Alas, we have been disappointed. The greatest mistake following the eighth congress is that these matters were not solved. In the end, we had to come to the point where we are.

Certain comrades from the previous leadership have been deprived of party cards, while action should also be taken by the law. These matters are being delayed too much and this is how people at the bottom are seeing them. What do these people want? They do not want miracles. They simply want their party to be well organized in its work, they want people to be able to work efficiently, get the reward due for their work and not be punished for something they did not do.

These were the remarks by Zygmunt Gajewski during the discussion on party matters, a discussion which ZYCIE WARSZAWY called: a new party programme is needed.

GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY WORKING GROUPS MEET 30 APR

LD300426 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Text] Five meetings between working groups of the government and Solidarity are scheduled to take place in Warsaw today. To be discussed are matters concerning the miners, law and order, the international activities of the Solidarity trade union as well as important questions of the economic reform, the problem of transferring workers to different places of work and Solidarity's access to the mass media.

MINERS TU CRITICIZES MINISTRY OF MINING PROGRAM

LD292222 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] The central board of the Miners Trade Union has handed our Katowice correspondent a statement adopted in connection with the current situation in the mining industry and the tense atmosphere apparent among the mining workforces.

In the statement, the central board of the Miners Trade Union says, among other things, that the Ministry of Mining has no concrete program for maintaining and expanding hard coal extraction, which would take into consideration the state of the extraction base, limited investment possibilities, improvement of labor safety, and keeping extraction costs within reasonable and justified limits. The Ministry of Mining is trying to adapt to its concepts the stipulations of the Jastrzebie agreement, making the growth of extraction as envisaged by the plan dependent on the number of compulsory working days, including some Saturdays.

The statement goes on to say that the Ministry of Mining, when encouraging miners to do voluntary work on Saturdays, employs methods which are erroneous in precept and method. On one hand, by setting up the so-called incentives fund it creates conditions for additional remuneration of miners working on Saturdays, but on the other, it supports the manipulation of extraction, which makes it possible to credit to free Saturdays part of the output achieved on working days.

In the statement, the central board of the Miners Trade Union demands concrete actions from the Ministry of Mining which, before being introduced, should be discussed with legal representatives of the workforces.

UNION SPOKESMAN VIEWS ISSUE OF MASS MEDIA ACCESS

LD292216 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] As you know, the first round of talks which had resumed between the working groups of the government and Solidarity devoted to Solidarity access to the mass media ended late last night.

Here is Mr Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for the National Consultative Commission. Two among many very important issues were discussed: the necessity of social control of mass media and solidarity's access to the radio?

[Begin recording] [Onyszkiewicz] Yes, this is correct. As far as the first item is concerned, that is, the issue of social control of mass media, both sides agreed that considering a general feeling that this control does not work correctly, it is necessary to submit for social discussion the means of ensuring an institutional system of social control of mass media, and such a discussion will take place.

[Question] What form will this discussion take?

[Answer] This will be held in the form of a discussion on radio, television and I think in the press as well.

Perhaps there will also be direct discussions. And later, as a result of this discussion, it will be possible to propose a model of this social control of mass media and possibly demand appropriate changes in the radio committee statute.

The next item we discussed was the item dealing simply with Solidarity radio and television programs. Our demand was that we want to set up within the framework of the radio committee an autonomous union editorial office, an independent editorial office of the union, organizationally subordinate to the radio committee, as far as personnel, social and other matters are concerned, but independent as far as the programs and their composition are concerned. Its programs would be done in consultation with our union, that is, Solidarity. The government did not want to agree to this sort of solution, arguing that it is impossible because of the radio committee statute, but unfortunately it was unable to make any concrete proposals as to how, in the present situation, Solidarity programs could be produced. We wait for the government side or the radio committee to make a concrete proposal at the next round of talks, that is, on Thursday.

[Question] Besides the subject which you have just mentioned, what issues have a chance of being discussed tomorrow?

[Answer] Well, I think that once this question has been settled, other points on the agenda will be discussed, such as the time on the air for Solidarity programs; next, what should be our right to [reply], our right to reply to criticism in the mass media; and also, what possibilities should we have for presenting our stance, the stance of our union on important issues, our participation in debates on important issues; and also such issues as the possibility of owning our own radio or television studio, which would enable us to make programs for plants' internal radio or television networks.

[Interviewer] Thank you sir, until tomorrow. [end recording]

BALUKA, MEMBERS SUPPORT SOLIDARITY DECISION

LD291630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Former labor leader Edmund Baluka interview with unidentified correspondent in Szczecin on 29 April--recorded]

[Text] [Question] What are your impressions from yesterday's meeting at the yard and what are your next plans?

[Answer] I have met normally, in the flesh, those who established the principles of April last year and who are continuing this work. There is a difference between looking at various newsheets [word indistinct] or reading the union press and looking these people in the eye, hearing their direct questions and being among them.

[Question] Did yesterday's decision or resolution come as a surprise to you?

[Answer] There were too many lies to make it a surprise. There were hundreds of different versions and opinions about me and my activity. They were controversial, so it is not surprising that there were questions from this angle and aspect. However, generally all has ended well.

[Question] When will you visit the public prosecutor's office?

[Answer] Probably today at about 1300.

[Question] Why did you decide right now to return to this country and why did you return illegally?

[Answer] The first question is why now? Well, the 8 years I spent abroad were 8 years of choosing the right moment to return. To say that in this period I should not have sought a tactical moment in order not to provoke, and so forth, has nothing to do with it. I waited for a moment when the country had more or less quieted.

[Question] Did you consider the position in which you have placed the union?

[Answer] I placed myself in the care of Solidarity. I believe that the Solidarity free trade union should be glad that I have returned to the country, because I worked very diligently (?together). Professionally I have certain experiences and I will serve them as I did in the past to help in the development of the union.

[Question] You are not concerned about your fate?

[Answer] Most certainly, yes. I will try to convince the public prosecutor that investigations of any kind into my case are unfounded.

[Question] Very briefly, how would you describe your life and work during these 8 years?

[Answer] I worked professionally in West Europe and even in South America and Japan. I worked in Belgium, in Britain [words indistinct]. For the last 4 years I was engaged in political activity with trade unions. I had contacts with the country and I took part in activities to help my compatriots in the country and to bring about my speedier return to the country.

[Question] When did you first officially approach the authorities about your return?

[Answer indistinct]

[Question] And specifically whom?

[Answer] The urban (?People's Council) in Szczecin and the Council of State.

[Question] The Council of State spokesman said in the press that there was no such letter.

[Answer] I have a third document relevant to this matter, proving that my solicitor submitted my letter to the Polish Embassy in Brussels. He was given a receipt. I have it in my possession, together with a statement that the letter was forwarded to the Council of State and that it was received there.

Guarantees Ensured

LD291124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] The Szczecin PAP correspondent reports that late last night Edmund Baluka left the Adolf Warski Shipyard at Szczecin, because a meeting of representatives from all the departments at the shipyard decided that Baluka should leave the shipyard and report to the public prosecutor's office.

It was emphasized during the meeting that Poland is a country in which law and order prevail and everyone should be responsible under the law. The decision fully endorsed the action taken by the representatives of the works' committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of the Szczecin shipyard aimed at ensuring guarantees and the just and legitimate conduct of proceedings with regard to Edmund Baluka on the part of the public prosecutor's office. It was made incumbent upon the works' committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of the Szczecin shipyard to ensure that the defending counsel is present during the interrogation of Edmund Baluka as well as to ensure the presence of an NSZZ Solidarity representative if Edmund Baluka consents to this.

The shipyard workforce demands that Baluka return to work at the Szczecin shipyard as soon as possible, in accordance with the principles of the agreements concluded at Gdansk and Szczecin.

Baluka's Conduct Abroad

AU300741 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Apr 81 p 2

[E. Ban commentary: "The Law Is the Law"]

[Text] The PAP communique on Edmund Baluka's return to Poland was brief and reticent, in keeping with the nature of the case. We do not want to attach undue importance to such cases, especially since they happen quite often. But if Baluka's case requires, despite everything, something like a commentary then it is only because his departure from and return to Poland were illegal; that is, they took place in defiance of the laws binding not only on all Poles, but also on all persons who want to cross a state border. That is why, no matter how we appraise Edmund Baluka personally, the legal sanctions applied against him for having obviously violated legal enactments must be regarded as wholly just and natural. During the process of the great changes in our country, we have often stated that observance of the law is one of the preconditions for such changes. Everyone is equally obligated to observe the law. Deviations from this principle are responsible for the generally criticized feature of "those above the law." They can also be bad, if not fatal, for our social renewal. The issue is beyond discussion--because of the common good.

Edmund Baluka knows best the reasons for his departure from Poland in 1973, as a 40-year old man. Let him keep those reasons to himself, but in any case they were not occasioned by any repression from the authorities. In January 1971, he organized a strike in the Szczecin shipyards and was elected chairman of the Szczecin strike committee and the workers committee. After that, he was elected secretary of the shipyards plant committee, chairman of the regional board of the Metal Workers Trade Union and a delegate of the union to the union's national congress in Katowice in 1972. Baluka boycotted that congress for personal reasons, and thus incurred the dissatisfaction of his own trade union comrades exclusively. It is probable that his disputes with them were the primary reason for his discharge from the shipyards in November 1972. Nevertheless, 3 months later E. Baluka became a sailor in the Polish Ocean Lines and put out to sea without any interference from anyone at all. It was also on his own initiative that he left the vessel in the Canary Islands and asked the island's authority for political asylum.

It would really be senseless to insinuate anything against E. Baluka. Nevertheless, his activity abroad from the moment he asked for asylum is bound to provoke many reflections. Having soon established contacts with Radio Free Europe, that familiar center of subversion in Munich, E. Baluka took part in that radio's programs. During his stay in Britain, he developed activities among Polish sailors from many vessels...activities that are no longer worth defining more closely. When he went to France, he also developed political activities and established closer contacts with the Trotskiyite center in Paris, a move that was nothing glorious, but that was significant in its way, as attested to by several editions of the SZERSZEN [hornet] brochure, whose publication was managed by E. Baluka. Mildly speaking, these publications were very unfriendly to our country's interests, political principles and alliances. Probably that was the origin of the ease with which Baluka established lively contacts with the so-called KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], group in Poland, which professes identical tenets. As for E. Baluka's opportunities to cooperate with West German television, well, let us leave that aside.

Just a few days ago, E. Baluka arrived in Poland in a car with French license plates, using a French passport with a French name, which could attest to his great ability to obtain the necessary documents and means to travel. It is still impossible to assess the motives that induced E. Baluka to return to the fatherland. We cannot deny that good will was a motive; nevertheless the very manner of his arrival was far removed from whatever--clearly stipulated by the appropriate legal regulations--must be observed willy-nilly by everyone without exception. What the French authorities may eventually have to say in that connection need not necessarily arouse our closer interest, although an explanation would no doubt satisfy the curiosity of many people.

The press communique stated inter alia that E. Baluka had allegedly asked the Council of State of Poland some months ago for permission to return to the country, but that he received no reply. That is easy to check, and we will certainly know very soon. One way or another, E. Baluka decided to act according to his own ideas or, more exactly, according to his own whims. Is it possible that disdain for the highest authorities of any country, especially of one's fatherland, could become a precedent? Without in any way prejudicing the case in question, we say that this would be a very dangerous precedent for society and the state.

MINISTRY EXTENDS VALIDITY OF APRIL MEAT COUPONS

LD291826 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] After a thorough assessment of the situation in the country, the minister of internal trade and services has decided to extend the validity of the April meat coupons through 6 May. The decision to extend the validity of the April coupons has an incidental character and makes it possible to purchase meat in accordance with allowed quotas. It is connected with the great number of days this month when stores have been closed.

PAP asks why this decision was made on the penultimate trading day in April. It was quite possible to have made the decision earlier. Indeed, during the whole of last week there were lots of customers and longer and longer lines outside stores. It must be said clearly, PAP writes, that the entire confusion surrounding the sales of meat for coupons was only partially caused by the specific character of trade during the pre-Easter period and that in most cases it was caused by faulty organization and lack of communications between trade and industry.

MORE ON MATERIALS MANAGEMENT MINISTER'S COMMENTS

LD291230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Zdzislawa Guca report]

[Summary] Nonexistent, in short supply, nil--these are the ways in which the stocks of many raw materials in the country are being described. Ministers of Materials Management Eugeniusz Szyr warned today, however, against waiting until the reform begins to yield its fruit. In his opinion it is necessary to eliminate at once, or to suspend the validity of, certain erroneous regulations and resolutions. And yet a total of 4 months has passed before the changes to regulations concerning excessive stocks were agreed. With regard to those raw materials which are in short supply, a central distribution system has been applied and commissions are being set up which include trade unionists as members, to investigate on the spot, at industrial enterprises, instances of the waste of resources. The management of raw materials in Poland has become influenced, more than is necessary, by supplies from abroad. Home sources of raw materials production have been carelessly closed down and the many forms of processing industry have been neglected so that a large amount of semifinished products and components have to be bought abroad. This is in spite of the fact the country has hundreds of thousands of fully qualified technicians and engineers. The reorientation of the national economy so that Poland can process its own raw materials will take many years.

In order to help lift you out of a mood of black despair, here are the answers of Minister Szyr to questions at the press conference. The questions are put by Editor (Bilski) of TRYBUNA LUDU, and the minister is answering them:

[Begin recording] [Question] It is conceded that reform of the supply prices of raw materials is indispensible, but I cannot entirely agree that the prices are too low. These seemingly low prices of raw materials do not show other costs, such as losses due to delays in the supply of goods and the low quality of raw and other materials. I would like to have an assurance that the situation will not arise in which we shall have world prices but [word indistinct] at national level.

The second matter is as follows: Difficulties in supply mainly concern imported raw materials. Are you taking into account the possibility that the suppliers of raw materials from abroad might provide raw and other materials and we could contribute the labor and then, together, we could export the goods produced?

[Answer] The reform of supply prices is not intended to provide an exact copy of world prices. The basic materials and the energy should approach, as far as the level of cost is concerned, the cost of materials and energy on the world market, in accordance with the proportional item adopted for this purpose. On the other hand, the further development of costs depends on the increased cost of fuel and energy as well as materials used during the process of production within the engineering industry and other enterprises of the processing industry. At this stage, what matters is not simply a comparison with world prices but particularly the system of production costs. In this respect, it is my opinion it is necessary to mobilize thousands of people in order that they should engage in criticising costs which are too high. Without criticism of high costs the reform of prices might fail as it has in the past. This must be a severe test for the national economy and not only a reform in the supply prices.

As to coordinated production involving partners from abroad, this has existed before but at present the economic situation in Poland has dissuaded some of the partners from such forms of collaboration in industrial production. However, it is hoped that the industrial position of the country will soon improve sufficiently for these forms of joint and coordinated production to be resumed. [end recording]

PROSECUTOR GENERAL ISSUES INDICTMENTS COMMUNIQUE

LD281856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Communique issued by Office of Prosecutor General; signed by press spokesman for the office, Deputy Prosecutor Stanislaw (Momot)--date of issuance not given]

[Text] Following the publication by PAP of information that the prosecutor's office is conducting investigations into 4 cases against former ministers, 7 against former deputy ministers and 5 against former first secretaries and 2 against former secretaries as well as 102 investigations into cases of people who hold posts at a level not lower than director, chief [kierownik] and town and parish executive officers, I herewith inform you that yesterday I informed journalists that according to the records of 10 April of this year, proceedings had been started following reports received against these persons. This does not mean that the aforementioned persons were accused of having committed criminal offenses but that investigations were started to explain the accusations contained in the reports.

I also inform you that to date the prosecuting organs have presented indictments, which means the same as starting penal proceedings against actual persons, against one former minister and one former deputy minister.

CHURCH TO ISSUE LETTER URGING RECONCILIATION

NC251728 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 25 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Apr (AFP)--Poland's Roman Catholic bishops have prepared a pastoral letter to be read tomorrow in all of the country's churches calling for "reconciliation" within the nation as a precondition for its renewal.

The letter cautioned that "no one is going to help us from abroad--it will be up to us to find inside ourselves the strength of ensuring a moral renewal of the nation."

Towards such renewal, the letter went on, it was essential to "return their actual meaning to words" and cease to "hide the truth." In a none too distant past, it charged, "words had lost their weight. The lie was reigning at the media. The truth was not mentioned. Information was falsified. Everybody could see that press, radio and television were lying."

"The truth was even dissimulated in the schools," the letter continued, "until the lie turned against the liar."

Under the circumstances, the text concluded, in a transparent reminder to Poland's secular authorities, "no one should be surprised today that declarations alone will not be enough. Only acts will be able to prove the truthfulness of what has been said."

After exhorting the population not to cease acting responsibly, the letter ended with the statement that there was "no abyss whence God could not rescue man."

MILITIA OFFICIAL ON DRUG ADDICTION PROBLEM

LD221510 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Interview with Col Tadeusz Rybek, director of the Citizens' Militia [MO] crime bureau, conducted by unidentified reporter; date, place not given--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] Until recently it was being said in Poland that a drug problem did not exist. However, information has recently appeared in the press concerning the existence of as many as 600,000 drug addicts. What is the assessment of the crime bureau?

[Answer] From 1974 to 1980 the number of drug addicts brought to light by the MO increased from 5,000 to 8,000. At present the central register of the crime bureau lists more than 9,000 drug addicts. Our register encompasses only those who are addicted to drugs, who take drugs in violation of the penal law and who acquire them through criminal actions.

In addition to those drug addicts--criminals, that is how they should be regarded--there exists a much larger group of persons who have had a single or occasional contact with drugs which they take or possess in conditions which do not violate the penal law, or who for other reasons are threatened with entering the path of [word indistinct] with regard to them we should apply educational measures, not repressive ones. According to crime bureau estimates this group may number from 100,000 to 150,000 persons. [Words indistinct] therefore, the figure of 300,000 to 600,000 drug addicts mentioned recently by the majority of theoreticians and journalists is unacceptable.

[Question] What should prevention be like in your opinion?

[Answer] The most serious problem in the fight against drug addiction is education. In our opinion youth and social organizations have so far not distinguished themselves with any kind of effective action. We also believe that important modifications of the binding legal system are needed. Existing regulations do not cater to present and long-term requirements in the fight against this vast and most dangerous social plague.

JELENIA GORA COUNCIL FAILS TO ELECT NEW VOIVODA

LD291324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Despite the fact that two secret ballots were held, neither candidate for the post of Jelenia Gora Voivoda was endorsed at the Jelenia Gora Voivodship People's Council session, which ended late last night. Both candidates failed to win the required simple majority. The candidate for the post were Jerzy Golaszynski and Michal Leszczynski [as heard], who have hitherto held the post of deputy voivoda. It was decided to postpone endorsing a candidate until the next session of the voivodship People's Council.

The council also assessed the status of the local health service system and the plans for this sphere in the period 1981-85.

REAGAN DECISION TO LIFT USSR EMBARGO 'SIGNAL'

AU291218 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25-26 Apr 81 p 4

[Karol Szyndzielorz commentary: "The Embargo Has Been Lifted"]

[Text] There is no need to explain to anyone the importance of Soviet-American relations, which mean a great deal and which influence the conduct and activity of alliances or groups of states. That is why the consistent lapsing of contacts, consultations and talks that we have witnessed since the beginning of 1980 are bound not only to produce a cooling off between Moscow and Washington, but also to cause the entire international situation to deteriorate.

At the 26th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev presented a program for normalizing Soviet-American relations without any preconditions. He said he was ready to meet Ronald Reagan any place and time, but he also made it clear that one must not regard as nonexistent such facts as the SALT II accord signed in Vienna, for example.

Washington's initial reaction was cautious, and now, too, one is hard put to claim that American policy is showing any change in tenor and trend. Nevertheless, the lifting of the grain embargo in the case of the Soviet Union is an important signal. Millions and millions of tons of grains are something farmers appreciate, and this is true. But even if the Soviet Union had no use for that grain, it would no doubt use its hard currency for other purposes. As you see, grain trade is a classic example of common interests, which politics can aid.

The United States must also make a decision on starting disarmament talks with the Soviet Union since U.S. allies are insisting on such talks. Those politicians who know that the time lost on armaments and the billions spent on them will never be recovered also regard such talks as urgent.

In Prague, Leonid Brezhnev once again appealed to the Americans' sense of realism. If Reagan's lifting of the embargo is a response to that appeal, then perhaps it will be possible to move ahead in other spheres as well.

Detente is not something abstract, nor is the interest of the European nations concerned with diminishing tension abstract. It is said that music improves one's habits. Trade certainly does the same.

SUSLOV VISIT EMPHASIZES FUNDAMENTAL FOREIGN POLICY

AU301100 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Apr 81 p 7

[Ryszard Drecki commentary: "Unity for Peace"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The Polish-Soviet alliance and, arising from it, Poland's close cooperation with the USSR in the international arena are among the fundamental elements of foreign policy pursued by both states. They are also a very important factor for the peaceful stabilization of relations in Europe. Thus it was only natural that those problems were paid appropriate attention in the recent talks in Warsaw between our party's leadership and the CPSU Central Committee delegation headed by Mikhail Suslov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary.

THE COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED AFTER THE TALKS SPEAKS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, OF THE NEED BOTH "TO DEFEND DETENTE AND CURB THE ARMS RACE," AND TO FURTHER CONSOLIDATE THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.

Those two closely related tasks have for decades constituted the basis of the foreign policy pursued by People's Poland and of the PZPR's international activity. On the one hand, we are deeply interested in the durable transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and close cooperation among states.

We are also developing vigorous activity in that direction which is appreciated internationally. Our resolute support of the important initiatives presented by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, initiatives of enormous significance for peace in the world and in Europe, particularly in the sphere of military detente, stems precisely from that attitude.

At the same time, we are aware that the effectiveness of Poland's efforts in favor of building a Europe of peace are to a large extent a function of our belonging to the socialist community and of our cooperation with all fraternal countries, in particular with the Soviet Union. The awareness of that interdependence, and of its significance for our country and for the situation in Europe, induces us to fully endorse the following statement in the communique on the recent Polish-Soviet talks:

"THE DEFENSE OF DETENTE CALLS FOR COMBINED EFFORTS AND THE UNITY OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES, AND FOR CONSOLIDATING THE DEFENSIVE POLITICAL COALITION OF THE WARSAW PACT. POLAND WILL FURTHER CONTRIBUTE ITS PART TO THAT CAUSE."

The interrelation between acting in favor of detente and harmonizing the activity and unity of the socialist community is now perhaps even more obvious than in previous years. The present international situation is characterized by an undoubted intensification in the activity of those imperialist forces that oppose detente in all its spheres. The clear tendency in the Atlantic bloc to intensify the arms race, the unconstructive attitude taken by a number of Western states at the Madrid CSCE meeting, the kindling of psychosis and international tensions around the events in Poland, and the attempts to undermine the unity of the socialist community--those are only some, more important examples of that phenomenon.

The pursuit of the detente policy and the implementation of the socialist peace program are, therefore, at present an issue undoubtedly more difficult than in the first half of the seventies. For example, those increased difficulties have confronted the socialist states' community, which was the driving force of all the positive changes in European relations that took place in the last decade, with particular tasks. THE STRENGTH, UNITY AND HARMONIZED ACTIVITY OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY STATES ARE NOW CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO DEFEND DETENTE AND TO AVERT THE DANGERS TO ALL PEOPLES CREATED BY THE INTENSIFIED ARMS RACE.

Those problems have been reflected in the communique on the recent Polish-Soviet talks. Although the passages in the document devoted to international problems were very concise, they constituted another manifestation of the view shared by the two parties and countries on the key problems of peace and detente, and on the role belonging to the socialist states in activities on behalf of those values. THOSE TALKS PROVIDED A NEW PROOF OF POLAND'S UNITY WITH THE USSR IN ACTIVITY FOR PEACE. THEY PROVIDED A NEW MANIFESTATION OF THE CONTINUITY OF THE CONTRIBUTION WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES, LIKE ALL FRATERNAL COUNTRIES, WISH TO MAKE TOWARD CONSOLIDATING UNITY IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND AT THE SAME TIME TOWARD THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, DISARMAMENT AND PEACEFUL COOPERATION.

BRIEFS

SCARCITY OF AGRICULTURAL SUPPLIES--It was cooler today in Olsztyn; there have been scattered snowshowers there since this morning. Spring fieldwork is being held up. In the voivodship, the sowing of spring cereals is almost finished, but the sowing of sugar beet, some fodder plants and potato planting has just begun. There is a scarcity of mineral fertilizers. First quarter deliveries have still not been fully carried out by industry. In the Gdansk and Elblag coastal region work is well advanced. Gdansk and Elblag farmers have sown more than 80 percent of spring cereals already. The sowing of wheat, oats and barley will probably be completed in both voivodships by the end of the week. Sugar beet sowing is also well advanced. Many farmers have begun potato plantings which is unusually early. There is an acute scarcity of seed potatoes and of spare parts for machinery, particularly in Elblag Voivodship. Fertilizer and plant protection agents are also scarce, especially essential fungicides. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 16 Apr 81 LD]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES TANZANIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU291923 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Apr (AGERPRES)--On April 29, President Nicolae Ceausescu was called on by the Tanzanian parliamentary delegation headed by (Sapi Mkwawa), speaker of the National Assembly, now on a Romanian visit. During the interview the sides evoked the good relations existing between Romania and Tanzania, the ascending evolution witnessed by the bilateral relations as a consequence of the agreements reached by the presidents of the two states. Expressed was the wish to expand and diversify these relations on multiple planes.

During the exchange of views on the international situation the sides stressed the necessity for all the peoples to intensify efforts for the resumption and consolidation of the detente process, for solving peacefully, by means of negotiations, the tensions and conflicts in various regions of the world with the strict observance of the states' independence and sovereignty, of the peoples' right to freedom, security and independent development. At the same time the fact was revealed that international peace and security require an intensification of the collaboration among the developing countries, the non-aligned countries, in the struggle for the eradication of underdevelopment and the engineering of a new international economic order, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against the racist and apartheid policy, for guaranteeing each people's right to free, independent development on the road of progress and prosperity.

The sides pointed to the need for a successful conclusion of the Madrid conference and for the convening of a conference dedicated to confidence and disarmament on the European Continent. Highlighted was the importance of the role incumbent on parliaments--as expression of the peoples' will--in the setting in of a climate of international peace, understanding and wide collaboration.

MOZAMBIQUE FRELIMO OFFICIAL CONTINUES VISIT

Received by Ceausescu

AU291421 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, today received (Sergio Veira), member of the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), minister and governor of the Bank of Mozambique, who is on a visit to our country. The meeting was attended by Petre Gigea, minister of finance, and (Joao dos Santos Pereira), secretary of state for cotton cultivation and vice chairman of the Mozambique side in the Romanian-Mozambique joint commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

The guest extended friendly greetings and best wishes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu on behalf of Samora Moises Machel, Frelimo chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and Comrade Graca Machel.

Expressing thanks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the guest to convey, on his behalf and on behalf of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, friendly greetings and best wishes to Comrade Samora Moises Machel and to Comrade Graca Machel.

During the meeting, the two sides stressed with satisfaction the positive relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Mozambique and expressed their common desire to continue to act to develop relations between the two countries at a political, economic, technical-scientific and other levels. They stressed that the deepening of those relations is to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of their progress and prosperity and in the interest of the cause of peace, cooperation and understanding among nations.

They also discussed certain international issues, in particular those regarding the situation in southern Africa. At the same time, they reasserted the solidarity of the two countries with the struggle waged by the Namibian people for national independence and for their right to a free and independent existence. The meeting took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Received by Finance Minister

AU291922 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Apr (AGERPRES)--Talks started in Bucharest, on April 29, between the delegations led by Petre Gigea, Romanian minister of finance, and Sergio Vieira, minister governor of the Bank of Mozambique.

Examining the stage and prospects of the Romanian-Mozambican economic relations, the parties stressed that the relations between the two countries record an upward course.

At the same time, mutual wish was stressed to especially actuate the economic cooperation, the trade exchanges, to develop the relations in the technical, scientific and other domains of mutual interest.

ANDREI RECEIVES CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS 29 APR

AU291407 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, today met with the Canadian parliamentary delegation led by Jean Marchand, speaker of the Senate. During the ensuing talk, the two sides discussed matters pertaining to bilateral relations and international issues of common interest. The two sides expressed satisfaction with the positive development in past years of Romanian-Canadian relations and stressed their joint desire to act to develop them in the future too.

The Canadian parliamentarians also met with Vasile Pungan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly commission for foreign policy and economic cooperation. The ensuing talk focused on an exchange of views on possibilities to further promote broader relations and more intensive cooperation between Romania and Canada and between their parliaments in keeping with the interests of the countries and peoples and of the cause of detente, peace and international understanding.

Burtica Receives Canadians

AU291924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Apr (AGERPRES)--Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Burtica, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, had an interview on April 29 with the Canadian parliamentary delegation led by Jean Marchand, speaker of the Senate.

They discussed on the occasion aspects related to the evolution of the bilateral economic relations, with emphasis on the possibilities of further developing them upon mutually advantageous bases.

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN-GUATEMALAN AGREEMENT--A credit agreement was signed on 23 April in Bucharest between the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank and the Central Bank of Guatemala, designed to promote exports of Romanian-made machinery and equipment to that country. The agreement was signed by Gheorghe Crainiceanu, vice president of the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, and Plinio Grazioso, president of the Central Bank of Guatemala. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Apr 81 p 5 AU]

KOLISEVSKI DISCUSSES CAUSES OF KOSOVO DISTURBANCES

LD291858 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--A joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order, which was attended by the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and the autonomous provinces and by highest ranking federal officials, has considered and endorsed the appraisals and attitudes of the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order concerning hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo.

The introductory report was submitted by Lazar Kolisevski, member of the SFRY Presidency, who stressed with reference to the character and aims of the hostile action:

The intensification of the counterrevolutionary activity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was stopped by the energetic action of the subjective [subjektivan] socialist forces and the constitutional organs of our socialist community. In the course of this the activity of the League of Communists was also prominent, especially in a number of communes. This was a demonstration of our strength and of our resolve to defend the constitutional order of our country. Kosovo's most responsible political leaders not only agreed to the use of these energetic measures, but also requested that things should be done in that way. It was shown that in the newly created situation this kind of action was perfectly correct and that it yielded results speedily. Our working people and our citizens throughout the country extended their full support to this kind of action, which has also been greeted by our friends abroad.

I should like to recall that our action in Kosovo is at present being conducted in a complex international situation, especially in Europe. It is a fact that the hostile forces in Kosovo have not yet been completely unmasked and defeated. We shall exert maximum efforts to speed up the consolidation and preparation of the whole system of all-people's defense and social protection in the province. In this connection we have made concrete proposals.

However, we must be fully aware of the fact that these and similar measures, however significant and justified they are, cannot by themselves lead to a more lasting stabilization of the situation. This goal can only be attained by means of all-encompassing sociopoliticalmeasures and intensified, planned, continuous and long-term ideolpolitical action.

When I say this, I am primarily bearing in mind the need to appraise openly and in a responsible manner the causes of such an intensification of hostile activity, shortcomings in the work of the League of Communists and specific examples of inefficiency in carrying out individual measures of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, especially in Pristian. We must struggle to overcome this state of affairs and to stabilize conditions in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the whole of our community primarily by overcoming the causes of such a state of affairs and the conditions which favored it. This will undoubtedly be more fully discussed at the sessions of the leaderships of the Leagues of Communists of Kosovo, Serbia and the federation.

However, we too must say something about this today. In this connection I will only point to some of the more essential questions.

It is evident that Albanian nationalism and irredentism were the basic, apparent forces in these and earlier hostile actions in Kosovo. Their final aim is undoubtedly clear: the annexation of Kosovo to Albania. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to destabilize Yugoslavia, endanger its self-managing development, nonaligned position, integrity and independence and to undermine the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities.

Only through a fuller investigation and a more comprehensive analysis will we be able to arrive at concrete knowledge and conclusions as to who instigated and organized what happened in Kosovo and who stands behind it. However, it is indisputable that Albanian nationalism and irredentism represent the basic forces through which the attainment of this aim has been attempted. These events have once more confirmed the correctness of our present assessment that all those who dislike a stable Yugoslavia and who are trying to undermine and endanger it rely on nationalism as their most certain tool and ally.

We must draw at least two conclusions from all this. First, in order to strengthen Yugoslavia's political stability, we must constantly give priority attention to the struggle against nationalism in all environments, in all republics and autonomous provinces.

We must be extremely vigilant and resolute in the struggle against all aspects of nationalism. This is a priority and permanent topical task. There must be no political compromise with nationalism and there is no room for any political opportunism as regards nationalist phenomena and their protagonists. Unfortunately, this is still the case. This is also a great lesson for us from what happened in Kosovo.

In Yugoslavia, which is a multinational community, more or less all problems can assume a nationalist manifestation unless the League of Communists and other subjective forces provide a timely and correct qualification of every phenomenon and problem, thus allowing no room for the insertion of enemies and for an inflammation of nationalism.

In the constant struggle against nationalism, we must also pay special attention to a phenomenon and tendency which we can, in a way, call economic nationalism. In recent years, this has been increasing due to the increasing economic isolation of the republics and autonomous provinces and due to a hampering of the process of self-managing linking and the integration of the economy in Yugoslav proportions. Therefore, it must be clear to us that without an integrated Yugoslav economy there can be no unity of the working class of Yugoslavia. Economic nationalism represents a great danger for the stability of our country, as does any other form of its manifestation.

Second, we must completely, openly and in a responsible manner find out why there was such an intensification of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo. How was it possible after more than three decades in the building of socialist self-management, which broadened man's freedom and strengthened his position in decisionmaking on all the vital questions of his life and our community as a whole, and when there was an enormous increase in Yugoslavia's prestige in the world as a country which is an open and sincere ally and supporter of all those who are struggling for peace, freedom and progress, that not only for a small number of young people in Kosovo, but also for a number of workers and farmers, Albania should become an example and ideal?--Enver Hoxha's Albania, the well-known bastion of ultra-Stalinist dogmatism and despotism, a country whose regime is cruel to its own citizens, a country whose whole economic and social development lags considerably behind the development of Kosovo!

There is no doubt that Albania's policies and its almost unhindered everyday propaganda activity toward Kosovo constitute one of the significant sources of nationalist euphoria.

However, they are not the only cause. While not underestimating this influence for one moment, we must, above all, identify our own errors, inconsistencies and shortcomings in ideopolitical, cultural, educational, economic and other spheres. We must answer the question: What were the organized socialist forces in Kosovo doing, where were they and how were they organized if all this could happen in spite of them? This should primarily be done by the communists and the working class of Kosovo, and especially the Albanians in Kosovo, but also by all of us. This is our joint problem.

It is obvious that the enemy made use of our shortcomings and lack of explicitness in order to fan up irredentism and nationalism among young Albanians in Kosovo. For example, it systematically spread the slogan about the republic [presumably republic status for Kosovo], which deceived many well-intentioned workers and citizens and even a number of communists.

Because of this, it is an indispensable task to explain its essence and to unmask it as irredentist and destructive.

The Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia has achieved full equality with the other nations and nationalities in a way which also leads to the strengthening and consolidation of Yugoslavia. This has been achieved through the constitutional status of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation. The Albanian nationality has achieved its full equality and can preserve it and further enrich it only in a sound and strong self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia. Nothing that weakens Yugoslavia and threatens its integrity, self-management and nonaligned position is in the interests of any of our nations and nationalities, including the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, or genuinely in the interests of the Albanian people as a whole.

This time again, the enemy played the card of sowing dissent between Serbs and Albanians, of causing hatred among the Albanian nationality in Kosovo toward the Serbian people and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. We must also resolutely settle accounts with that slogan in the ideological and political fields--a dark slogan of the blackest Fascist elements of the war period.

True equality of Albanians in Kosovo can be attained and can be further enriched only by strengthening togetherness, solidarity and confidence with the Serbian people and other nations and nationalities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and with the Serbian people in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and in no other way. This also applies to any other nationality and nation in other republics.

Communist Albanians in Kosovo, and outside, and the Serbian, Macedonian and Montenegrin and other communists therefore have the historic responsibility to resolutely struggle above all against their own nationalism and all together against all nationalisms. It is also of historic importance that the working people and communists of Kosovo comprehend in a completely consistent manner that they are an integral, equal and inseparable part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and that this is in their vital interest and in the interest of Yugoslavia as a whole.

We must be fully aware that the thesis 'the weaker Serbia, the stronger Kosovo,' or any other of our republics, is erroneous and extremely reactionary. The same applies to the thesis 'the smaller Kosovo autonomy within Serbia, the stronger is Serbia.' The same can be said for the thesis 'weak Serbia, strong Yugoslavia.' The strength of the SFRY as a socialist and self-managing community depends on the strength of each republic and autonomous province build on self-managing and democratic bases and aware that its future lies in conditions of full equality and togetherness.

The enemy has particularly attempted to exploit the economic difficulties in Kosovo for its purposes. In this it has also exploited all weaknesses, tactlessness and irresponsibility in our own public statements on questions of development in Kosovo.

All of us from the insufficiently developed republics--and comrades from Kosovo in particular--present the results which we have achieved in all fields of life and development in the SFRY inadequately. We also speak inadequately about the great solidarity of all Yugoslav peoples, all republics and the Province of Vojvodina in respect to the solution of the problem of the faster development of the insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

We emphasize in an inadequately critical and self-critical manner our own subjective weaknesses and errors which have made our development slower than Yugoslav solidarity has made possible through the allocation of resources to the fund for the undeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and through other forms. If it were not for these subjective weaknesses in determining the directions of development, in the manner of using the resources, in productivity and so on, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina could have achieved a higher level of economic and social development. We from the undeveloped republics and Kosovo must fully understand that the whole social and economic development of the undeveloped depends above all on our own work and only then on the solidarity of the Yugoslav socialist community. It is for this reason that we are responsible before our own people and also before the Yugoslav community for our faster socioeconomic development and for the correct use of the resources of solidarity.

In our multinational community [words indistinct] we must speak about all this more publicly and openly than we have done. We must not allow any incomplete and irresponsible public statements made by us to create the impression that the 'egoism' of the developed and the Yugoslav system of encouraging our faster development are to blame for all of our lagging behind. If we did so, we would most effectively feed our own nationalism. All of us, and especially the comrades from Kosovo, should openly and honestly draw the necessary lessons and conclusions from all that has taken place in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The comrades from the developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina should be more careful not to feed their own nationalisms by making public statements to the effect that insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are a burden to our community and that this is only a matter of aid and not also of the solidarity and long-term interests of both of them.

The adaptation of the system of secondary, higher and high education to the needs of the economy and society is one of Yugoslavia's biggest problems. Employment for the young generation greatly depends on the degree of success achieved in tackling this problem. Looked at from this point of view, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo may rightly be said to have created a very big problem for itself by setting up the mammoth university in Pristina--a problem which, from a long-term point of view, is a potential hotbed of nationalism and instability. Problems of this kind have also been created by us in Macedonia, and also by some others in Yugoslavia.

I have been saying this openly for a long time about Skopje University, for example. However, this problem manifests itself most sharply in Kosovo where the greatest disproportion exists between the numbers and structure of the students and the real needs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for cadres of various kinds. This is why, when these young men and women have finished their university courses, a large number of them will not have a job to go to, while at the same time the Kosovo economy will be short of experts, of skilled and highly skilled workers of various kinds.

These unemployed intellectuals are partly, and can become even more so, a hotbed of nationalism and instability in Kosovo. We know full well the extent to which the schooling of so large a number of students places a burden on the numerically weak working class and working people of Kosovo--178,000 employed against 51,000 students and a large number of secondary school students.

Comrade Kardelj spoke openly about this problem to the comrades in Kosovo 4 years ago when the university in Pristina had 26,000 students. Now this university has 51,000 students.

However, the problem has been created; it is with us.

The most important thing now is to prevent its further deterioration and to gradually solve it through a more resolute reform of university and secondary school education, a reform in deeds and not only in words. This will not be at all easy, but we must do this above all in Kosovo, in other republics and in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

The council's material, prepared for the Presidency, contains many facts about the kind of subversive propaganda activity carried out by Albania against Yugoslavia and especially directed against Kosovo. The latest articles in ZERI I POPULLIT show beyond all doubt that behind all this is the Albanian Government and the Albanian Party of Labor. We did little to hinder the subversive propaganda activity carried out by Albania in our direction.

The real long-term interest of Yugoslavia and Albania in developing good-neighborly relations and in cooperation is indisputable. However, two constant facts have been characteristic of Albanian policy toward us for a number of years. First, there has been the attack on socialist self-management and on the policy of nonalignment from dogmatic Stalinist positions. Albania is the only socialist country which has not changed its policy on these questions since 1948. Furthermore, its relations with other countries have in many ways depended on the policy and attitude of these countries toward Yugoslavia. When the relations of these countries with Yugoslavia were weak, Albania developed very good relations with them, and vice versa.

Second, there is the fact that Albanian policy toward us is constantly colored by open nationalism and an aspiration to unite Kosovo with Albania. Albania has clearly expressed this aspect of its policy toward Yugoslavia with equal persistence whether it has been freezing or developing relations with us.

In particular, we must assess the shortcomings in the work of the state security organs and the functioning of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection in Kosovo. The council has delivered its opinion on these questions and corresponding proposals.

Finally, a few words on yet another question. The council's material speaks of the need for political differentiation within the League of Communists and in the leadership in Kosovo as a necessary condition for a successful struggle against hostile activity; I think that what we said is very true and has been confirmed by the whole practice of the LCY and (?all) our republics and autonomous provinces. We must speak openly about this. Of course, nobody in his right mind and who is well-meaning understands differentiation and responsibility as a need to make an enemy of a friend, that is, to qualify someone as a nationalist and irredentist who is neither of these things. This would only benefit the nationalists and irredentists, just as it would harm the League of Communists if hidden nationalists and irredentists remained in its ranks.

In our community there must be responsibility not only for hostile activity, but also for the irresponsible and poor performance of functions entrusted to individuals who have accepted them.

If those who bear most responsibility for the intensification of nationalism among the youth of Kosovo and for the League of Communists in Kosovo and almost the whole system of social self-protection showing serious weaknesses at a moment of crisis were not called to account for their work, we would weaken our efforts in the struggle to politically stabilize the situation in Kosovo and shake the confidence of the working people and citizens in the ability and readiness of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia to resolutely prevent a repetition of what has happened, either in Kosovo or in any other part of Yugoslavia.

LCY PRESIDIUM SESSION ADOPTS POSITIONS ON KOSOVO

LD291906 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee today held an expanded session in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Lazar Mojsov. The session was also attended by SFRY Presidency members and other top officials in the federation.

In connection with the preparations for the session of the LCY Central Committee, which will be held on 7 May, 1981, the Presidium considered the political situation created in Kosovo by the activities of the counterrevolutionary elements in the province.

The Presidium considered the reasons for these events and adopted stances on measures and further directions of the political action aimed at overcoming the present situation which will be discussed by the LCY Central Committee at its next session.

KOSOVO VETERANS DENOUNCE HOSTILE DEMONSTRATIONS

AU291639 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Kosovo veterans have most energetically denounced the recent hostile demonstrations in some places of the province and have demanded that the organizers and perpetrators of these insolent and destructive hostile actions be most strictly punished.

This was demanded on behalf of the 46,000 living and the 6,200 fallen Kosovo fighters for freedom, brotherhood, unity and equality of all the peoples and nationalities of the nonaligned and self-managing Yugoslavia at an expanded session of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the Federation of Veterans Associations today. We know that our self-managing system, our independent and nonaligned policy, and our brotherhood, unity, equality and togetherness are a thorn in the flesh of many enemies in the country, and in Ballist, Chetnik, Ustasha and other most sinister organizations. Therefore, our revolution has never ceased for a moment for us; and these days, when the enemy is rearing his head again, Kosovo veterans will not allow anybody to endanger the achievements of our revolution and the brotherhood and unity gained by blood, Mehmet Malici, president of the Kosovo veterans organization, stressed at the session.

PRISTINA PAPER REPORTS 'ENEMY CONTINUING ACTIVITY'

AU292032 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Under the title "The Enemy Does Not Rest," the newspaper RILINDJA publishes the following article in tomorrow's issue:

In the intensive ideopolitical activity underway throughout the province to clarify the stands adopted by the 16th Session of the Kosovo LCY Provincial Committee, the full unity of the communists and other organized socialist forces, working people, citizens and young people was expressed in denouncing and exposing the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

As a result of the offensive of the LCY of Kosovo, subjective forces and of the defensive measures adopted, the momentum of the escalation was halted. The enemy, however, has not quieted down. The enemy is continuing its activity in various forms, such as the dissemination of slogans, pamphlets, the dissemination of disinformation, threats, blackmail, attempts to hinder lessons in some schools and sending emissaries to various places. The enemy is also conducting himself in a provocative manner in wearing national costumes.

The enemy is now centering his efforts on the eve of the May Day celebrations with the intention of creating disturbances among the working people who, as previously, desire to spend this international festival quietly and joyfully.

The people of Kosovo, the Kosovo LCY and all other organized socialist forces are determined as never before to prevent various forms of hostile activity and demonstrations, regardless of what cloak the enemy disguises himself in. Hostile elements incited and supported from abroad are greatly mistaken if they believe that they can achieve success with their new tactics. The most recent example in certain villages of Decan commune illustrates this in the best possible way. An attempt made in this commune to disseminate pamphlets calling for new demonstrations was exposed and prevented owing to the vigilance of citizens and defense organs, which identified a group of pupils from the commune as instigators of the hostile action. The working people, citizens and young people, together with the organs of security and defense and self-defense organs will continue to react most energetically to any such hostile provocation and will undertake all necessary measures against all those who may attempt to cause any disturbances whatsoever.

The working class, working people and youth of our province wish to celebrate the May Day festivities, as before, with victories at work in the struggle for self-managing socialism and for a happier future on Tito's path and led by the LCY.

POLITIKA SCORES ZERI I POPULLIT ON KOSOVO

LD300130 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 29 Apr 81

["POLITIKA: Tirana's Dangerous Meddling"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--Commenting today on the articles in the Tirana daily "ZERI I POPULLIT", the Belgrade daily "POLITIKA" writes that this Albanian daily "is again fostering hopes for the fraternity and unity of Yugoslav nations and nationalities to be undermined and exerting efforts along these lines." The influential Yugoslav daily notes that "ZERI I POPULLIT" makes the leaders of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo the target of its "most bitter insults, even direct threats--which is particularly provocative and inadmissible."

"The Albanian party organ is annoyed by these leaders and the hundreds of thousands of Albanians who were not taken in by the organizers of hostile actions, the telegrammes of support from the Kosovo working collectives and other milieus. It is annoyed above all by the situation in Kosovo itself which today is completely different from what Tirana expected or hoped it would be."

"POLITIKA" assesses that "the putting of spokes [words indistinct] our wheels" has become "ZERI I POPULLIT's" most important preoccupation and illustrates this also by the Albanian daily's "demagogic speculations" about the difference in the level of development between individual regions in Yugoslavia. "This comparisons and allusions are made on the Kosovo-Slovenia line, but not on the Kosovo-the P.S.R. of Albania line, since it could be then seen how much each of them has advanced in relation to the (?same starting) position, which level of the overall economic development and economic standard each has achieved, not to (?mention) the personal and general freedoms", writes "POLITIKA".

The Belgrade daily notes that on the other hand "ZERI I POPULLIT" keeps silent about very important data on the development of Kosovo, for example the fact that this province, although its population increased more than twofold over the past 3 decades, has had the quickest development rate in Yugoslavia.

"In Tirana's self-isolationism, however strange and incomprehensible it may seem in [words indistinct] the [words indistinct] certain system which should not be underrated", "POLITIKA" writes. Albania's absence from the Helsinki conference, which accepted and (?confirmed) all post-war frontiers in Europe today appears to us in a different light from what at that time it appeared to be--a wayward consistency in one's own cocoon."

The "ZERI I POPULLIT's" article of April 8, rejecting the decisions of the 1913 Lonen treaty (which defines the borders of independent Albania) and of the 1919 Versailles Treaty (which establishes the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) "contains Tirana's dangerous greater Albania [words indistinct] and, de facto, territorial claims to our country".

"POLITIKA" recalls that Yugoslavia is interested in fostering good-neighbourly relations, and in peace and stability in the Balkans on the principles of equality, observance of sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference and mutual trust. After Tirana, through its party organ, [words indistinct] support the "greater Albania irredentists and militant demonstrators of various colours in Kosovo, the former suspicions have again become topical", while "ZERI I POPULLIT's" messages about Albania's interest in good relations with Yugoslavia sound unconvincing, the Belgrade daily writes.

"Time and a great deal of positive results, without new unpleasant surprises, will be necessary to make up for all that has left, through Tirana's fault, unwanted and grave effects on the two countries' relations over the past weeks", "POLITIKA" concludes.

LIBYA'S AL-QADHDHAFI PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT

Welcomed by Mijatovic, Others

LD291648 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--Leader of the Libyan people's revolution Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi arrived in our country today on an official and friendly visit. Shortly before 1200, the Libyan leader's special aircraft landed at the festively decorated runway at Surcin Airport, where Col al-Qadhdhafi was welcomed and greeted by Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency. Pioneers presented the guest with flowers, and Al-Qadhdhafi then greeted the other Yugoslavs present: Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense; Sinan Hasani, vice president of the Yugoslav Assembly; Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly, and others. After the anthems of the two friendly and nonaligned countries had been played, Al-Qadhdhafi and Mijatovic inspected the honor guard.

To the applause of several hundred Libyan students who are studying in Belgrade, Col al-Qadhdhafi cordially shook hands with the staff of the Libyan People's Bureau in Yugoslavia and then left for his residence in the company of his host.

The following arrived with the Libyan head of state: Brig Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander in chief of the Armed Forces; 'Abd al-'Ati 'Abdallah al-'Ubaydi, secretary of the People's Bureau for foreign liaison; 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, secretary of foreign affairs liaison; 'Abd al-Majid al-Mabruk al-Qa'ud, secretary of the General People's Committee for Atomic Energy; Jum'ah Salim al-Arbash, secretary of the General People's Committee for Electricity; 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir, secretary of the General People's Committee for Heavy Industries, and Musa Ahmad Abu Furaywah, secretary of the General People's Committee for Planning.

Talks Begin

LD292206 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav-Libyan talks started in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade this afternoon. The dialogue, lasting 3 and 1/2 hours, was held in a very cordial, friendly and working atmosphere.

Welcoming Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, Cvijetin Mijatovic, the president of the SFRY Presidency, recalled the long friendship existing between Yugoslavia and Libya. He stated that this visit confirms the mutual desire to continue and deepen cooperation.

Col al-Qadhdhafi emphasized Libya's desire to strive to raise the cooperation between the two countries to a still higher level and to give it new prospects.

Mijatovic also recalled the visit which President Tito paid to Libya 2 years ago, as well as the Libyan expressions of respect for the person of our president, who was a sincere friend of the Libyan people.

Al-Qadhdhafi spoke very warmly about President Tito and his pleasure that Tito's work is being continued.

From the Yugoslav side, the following took part in the talks: Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense; Vuko Dragasevic and Stojan Matkaliev, members of the Federal Executive Council. From the Libyan side: Brig Abu Ekr Yunis Jabir, chief of staff of the Armed Forces; 'Abd al-'Ati 'Abdallah al-'Jbaydi, secretary of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison; and the following secretaries of the committees for foreign affairs, atomic energy, electricity, heavy industries and planning--Dr 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, 'Abd al-Majid al-Mabruk al-Qa'ud, Jum'ah Salim al-Arbash, 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir and Musa Ahmad Abu Furaywah.

The talks centered on the alarming situation in the world, the threat to detente, the aggravated process of decolonization and the building of the new economic order. Mention was also made of the crises in Asia and in the Near and Middle East, the difficult situation in which the Palestinian people find themselves, the halt in the work of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, certain aspects of the situation in Europe and other questions.

It was noted that there increasingly frequent use is being made of the indirect methods of interference and of waging propaganda warfare with psychological and other means aimed at achieving destabilization and gaining influence in particular countries. However, attention was also drawn to some positive aspects in international relations, such as the attainment of independence by Zimbabwe, nations' increased awareness of the need to defend their independence and so forth.

Mijatovic and Al-Qadhdhafi placed particular stress on their stand against any interference and any form of pressure on any country or region whatever. They stressed the need for every people to be fully able to peacefully seek solutions to their problems in conditions of security.

Mijatovic also recalled the good relations which Yugoslavia has with the great powers and the fact that these relations are based on the same principle as relations with other countries and that these principles play an irreplaceable role even when mutual differences emerge.

Particular attention was paid to the nonaligned countries' activities in the present complex situation.

Mijatovic emphasized the success of the Ministerial Conference of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi, noting that this success facilitates the efforts being made by the nonaligned to involve themselves in the settling of acute problems. He particularly stressed the need for the most vigorous activation of small and medium countries, which should be the subject of the building of international relations and not an object of rivalry between alien interests.

Mijatovic also pointed out the need for active and positive relations between the nonaligned and great powers and other countries, in which the nonaligned should rely on their original principles and stances, without predetermined allies and opponents. He recalled that we decide our attitude toward others depending on their policy, according to the extent to which their policy serves peace, security and development.

Al-Qadhdhafi spoke more extensively about individual crises in Africa and expressed concern about the aggressive behavior of Israel toward Lebanon. This concern was also shared by Mijatovic, who added that Yugoslavia is in touch with the PLO and Lebanon in order to find the best manner for the activity of the nonaligned countries, which cannot stand aside.

The talks also dealt with the situation in Chad, the Western Sahara and other areas where crises worry the international community.

A large part of the talks was devoted to the Middle East crisis. Mijatovic repeated Yugoslavia's views on this crisis, emphasizing that its essence lies in a solution to the Palestinian question and the implementation of the Palestinians' rights, including the right to their own state, which would enable the achievement of a just, comprehensive and permanent solution and thus also of peace and tranquil development for all states in that region. It was noted that greater understanding among the Arab countries would facilitate the attainment of this aim.

In the part of the talks which touched on relations within the Nonaligned Movement, Mijatovic said that the strength of the nonaligned has always been greater whenever, carefully guarding their independence, they have relied on their original principles and mutual solidarity. Past experience shows that any other orientation is very risky and usually has to be paid for dearly.

It is reported that it was agreed that the two countries' ministers who are taking part in the talks will hold separate talks tomorrow morning to consider the possibilities for promoting bilateral cooperation in economic and other fields, on which they will report tomorrow afternoon.

Col al-Qadhdhafi is expected to receive Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, tomorrow and afterward leave for Novi Sad, where he will be acquainted with projects connected with the Danube-Tisa-Danube system, in which he has expressed interest because of the possibility of applying some of these experiences in Libya.

Mijatovic Hosts Dinner

LD300106 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, tonight gave a formal dinner in the Palace of the Federation in honor of the leader of the Libyan revolution, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

Apart from the personalities who arrived with Col al-Qadhdhafi, and who took part in the Yugoslav-Libyan talks, the dinner was also attended by Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Dragoslav Markovic, president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia; Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Radovan Vlajkovic, president of the Presidency of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Vojvodina; Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Army General Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense; Milos Minic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Virgilio Brandford Hammitt, Panamanian ambassador to the SFRY and the dean of the diplomatic corps, and others.

During the dinner, Cvijetin Mijatovic and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi exchanged toasts.

Mijatovic Dinner Toast

LD300122 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Toast by Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at 29 April dinner in Belgrade given in honor of visiting Libyan leader Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--Dear and respected friend Col al-Qadhdhafi, we are all very glad to greet you again in our midst as the leader of the Libyan revolution of the Libyan people, as well as our friend, and to wish you and your associates a pleasant stay in Yugoslavia.

We attach great significance to your official friendly visit to Yugoslavia. In it we see the confirmation and continuation of the friendship which we have jointly created over the years. This friendship was fully expressed during the last visit by President Tito to your country, less than a year before his life ceased. The attention with which you surrounded our president showed your respect for Tito's personality and work and the friendly feelings of our peoples, which are reciprocated.

The talks which we have already started will enable us to indicate new frameworks and directions of further development of the bilateral cooperation which embody mutual interests. The exchange of opinion on many worrying problems and phenomena which have engaged the attention of the nonaligned, especially Mediterranean countries, and also of the international community, is of special importance.

I wish to assure you that the SFRY Presidency attaches great importance to the further successful development of our relations and cooperation. The results which we have achieved, and which you and we can be proud of, strengthened us in the belief that we can achieve considerably more by mutual efforts. The economies of our countries are complementary, while the very good political relations also point the way to closer cooperation, so that we see all reasons for its further development in all fields, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and many others. Thus, in a positive way, we contribute to closer bilateral cooperation between the nonaligned and developing countries, which we emphasized as an important joint task at all gatherings of the nonaligned countries.

The very complex situation in the world, which is burdened by crises, rivalry and conflicts--it will suffice if I mention the Mediterranean area--demands from all of us consistent involvement in the peaceful settlement of the accumulated problems. The ministerial meeting in New Delhi represents an encouraging step forward in this respect, since it reaffirmed the vitality of our movement and its ability, while respecting democratic norms in its own ranks, to strive more broadly for better political and economic relations in the world and thus also for general security and progress.

The SFRY Presidency is deeply convinced that the essential characteristics of our movement and policy--their nonalignment, independence and position outside the blocs--constitute an irreplaceable mainstay for the independence of countries and a prerequisite for the carrying out of those historical tasks which modern development has set us.

This is all the more reason why nonaligned countries, advocating the peaceful settlement of world problems, are called upon to resolve their own unresolved questions exclusively in this same way. Laying stress on the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis of interstate relations, we are obliged to apply these principles strictly also in relations inside our own movement. Striving for broad cooperation in the settling of acute economic and other problems of the world, we shall be able to solve this task if we develop the closest possible economic and every other form of cooperation between us.

We are convinced that the strict application of this kind of approach, based on the principles of nonalignment, would contribute to the easier and speedier settling of the extremely dangerous crises in the area of the Mediterranean and in the neighboring regions. This would foil to a considerable extent the efforts to extend the rivalry between the bloc powers to the nonaligned countries and their mutual relations.

We have stressed many times--and our attitude in this respect is clear and consistent--that a complete, just and thus also lasting settlement to the Near East crisis cannot be achieved without the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression and without a satisfactory solution to the Palestine question, including the realization of the Palestinian people's right to their own state. This goal, as we have often stressed, also calls for greater mutual understanding, reliance and solidarity among the Arab countries. This is also the way to resist more easily the pressures from outside and the efforts to transform this sensitive area, as has been done with other areas, into an area for rivalry and for the realization of foreign presence and influence. Today the Palestinian people are exposed to even greater tribulations and trials and this makes it even more necessary to extend our support to their just struggle and their only legitimate representative, the PLO.

We are also deeply indignant at Israel's aggressive acts on the territory of nonaligned Lebanon, which for its part emphasizes the need to put an end to such impermissible behavior in the interest not only of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples but also of all other peoples in this area.

We are worried by the continuation of the Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict, which threatens to inflict lasting damage to the prestige and development of these two nonaligned and friendly countries and to nonalignment as a whole. It is high time the interests of their own peoples and broader interests of peace and security outweighed other sentiments, so that hostilities could be stopped, an end be put to suffering and a start be made with the peaceful settling of disputed questions. We are sure that such a step by these countries, which have friendly relations with Yugoslavia, will meet with the broadest acknowledgment and support.

Proceeding from the principles of nonalignment, we deeply believe that the solution of the crises in the world requires full respect for the rights of peoples to freedom and independence, to a free choice of their development and consistent engagement against outside interference, the use of force, foreign interventions and domination, under any pretext. The fostering of relations between neighbors anywhere in the world is of special importance today because friendship begins on the border of every country, and with it also security, as well as conflicts with their numerous adverse consequences.

As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, we see in good neighborly relations, which we have built and are constantly strengthening, a powerful prop for our own security and at the same time a concrete contribution to wider security and cooperation.

I would also like to emphasize the importance of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of good neighborliness and cooperation between countries along its shores, thus narrowing the room for various types of military and other competition in this sensitive region.

We also pay great attention to the efforts to undertake and to speed up the process of negotiations which lead to the building of new economic relations in the world. This imperative task requires close cooperation between the nonaligned and developing countries, so that, by relying on their own efforts and resources and through greater mutual help, they can above all help the least developed countries to overcome more easily the accumulated problems of development.

I am certain, our dear friend Col al-Qadhdhafi, that increased need for consistent implementation of the policy of nonalignment, in the spirit of agreement reached in New Delhi, also requires close cooperation between our two and other nonaligned countries. This is also confirmed by our talks which have at the same time strengthened our conviction about the possibilities and mutual desire to develop still further our bilateral cooperation. The SFRY Presidency and our government will also in future make efforts to achieve this, in the belief that these efforts will be mutual, as they have been hitherto.

I raise my glass to the health of our respected friend, leader of the great 1 September revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, to the health of our Libyan guests, to the all-round progress of the Libyan people, to further strengthening of Yugoslav-Libyan friendship and cooperation, to the implementation of the aims of the policy of nonalignment in the interest of peace, security and independence of all peoples and general progress in the world.

Al-Qadhdhafi Toast

LD300036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2125 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Toast by Libyan leader Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi at 29 April dinner in Belgrade given in his honor]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--Thanking Cvijetin Mijatovic for his warm words, Col al-Qadhdhafi reciprocated with the same wish for (?further) development of Yugoslav-Libyan friendship and expressed deep gratitude for the warm hospitality accorded to him in Yugoslavia:

I wish to say that I feel particularly happy every time I come to your beautiful friendly country. Today I am visiting it for the first time since the death of our great friend, President Tito. Although he is dead, we continue the struggle which he started, that is, the struggle for nonalignment. Thanks to President Tito, our friendship developed and is increasingly developing and expanding. Seeing you, we see President Tito. Yugoslavia, for which Tito fought, will remain forever as a symbol of the friendship which we have built together.

I am deeply convinced that the exceptionally positive results of the talks which we had must be reflected in bilateral relations, in the situation in the movement for nonalignment and in the situation in the world in general. We are both deeply concerned about the escalation (?of war) on the part of Israel in southern Lebanon, in the immediate vicinity of Syria.

We are convinced that the aggressor will be checked only if the Arab countries are united and enjoy the support of the nonaligned countries.

The friendship and cooperation between Libya and Yugoslavia, which are in the vanguard of the movement of the nonaligned countries, must also have a special role in this respect. There is no doubt that the contacts which we are establishing with Syria and Lebanon will represent important steps which we shall take tomorrow and which will represent a guarantee for checking the aggressor's violence.

Our attention, which is concentrated on the escalation of aggression in southern Lebanon, has not prevented us from devoting ourselves to the development of our bilateral cooperation in all fields and in all domains.

I express great pleasure that I convinced myself today about the wide readiness expressed by you for the development of bilateral cooperation with my country in all domains. The friendship between our peoples is so great that it must reflect itself in the further strengthening of bilateral relations.

The identity of our stances represents a firm prop for the development of our economic relations in mutual interest and for mutual benefit. I therefore express optimism about today's talks which will undoutedly lead to more comprehensive cooperation between our peoples. We have no reservations about the efforts to develop mutual relations to the maximum. I therefore attribute great importance to the present visit to your country.

Dear friends, I thank you for your attention and I raise this glass to further prosperity of the Libyan-Yugoslav friendship and cooperation.

BORBA REPORTS ON SUSLOV TALKS IN WARSAW

AU291300 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 81 p 5

[Permanent correspondent Lazar Martinovic report]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Apr--The surprise visit by Mikhail Suslov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Warsaw has aroused special interest in the Polish public. There are several reasons for this. First, it has come at a time when the ferment in the Polish party is reaching its culmination and when pressures for a major reform of the PZPR are attaining organized forms. Second, this is the first visit to Poland by a member of the top Soviet leadership since the crisis broke out. Third, the visit by the ideologist of "real socialism" is being linked with the forthcoming plenum of the PZPR Central Committee at which major problems of the level of party's democratization and some requests for cadre changes are to be settled; and fourth, in the talks the three-member Soviet delegation faced the entire PZPR Central Committee Politburo, as the announcement indicates, and this is not usual.

In addition to Suslov, those taking part in the talks with the Polish leadership were Konstantin Rusakov, the man in the top Soviet political leadership responsible for the "socialist community" countries, and Boris Aristov, USSR ambassador in Warsaw, a person who is following the development of the Polish events from close proximity.

It is also not devoid of significance that the Polish-Soviet party dialogue was conducted at a time of an intensified campaign by some neighbors, whose press and some political functionaries are attacking certain trends in the Polish party with increasing sharpness and are expressing doubts about the strength and ideology of the PZPR and the state apparatus. These pressures have been gaining in intensity lately.

The Party at the Center of Attention

The Soviet delegation, which was said to have visited Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee, was given the highest possible ranking by such features as the composition of the welcoming party at the Warsaw airport and up to the level of the Polish team participating in the talks.

As is indicated in the communique published today, the PZPR representatives informed their guests about the activities of the Polish party "whose aim is to overcome the consequences of deviations from the principles of scientific socialism and the creation of conditions for a harmonious development of socialist Poland."

It is asserted in circles of well-informed observers that the greater part of the talks was devoted to the Polish party itself, to some trends in the democratization and reformation of the PZPR and the creation of horizontal party structures. Considering that it is a matter of occurrences which depart from the common ideological concept, the Soviet side logically had to show special interest.

The phrase about creating conditions for a harmonious development of socialist Poland certainly implies the need for a harmonious ideological development of the "Warsaw seven," in which any major Polish deviations could disturb the political monolith.

A second group of questions referred to the struggle against the enemies of socialism. The Polish side stressed that the unification of all the patriotic forces of the country is necessary for eliminating the threats to the achievements of socialism in Poland and for opposing the attempts at provoking anarchy and creating a dyarchy of power.

It is believed that the Polish party in this way wanted to defend the frequently challenged Polish concept of "historical compromise" and its variation of "pluralism of interests."

As is indicated in the communique, Suslov expressed CPSU solidarity "with the PZPR efforts which contribute to the stabilization of the social and economic situation, the strengthening of the party on the ideological platform of Marxism-Leninism and the defense of the fundamental values of socialism."

For the Defense of the "Community"

One can conclude from this that the hosts succeeded in defending their own political line in solving the crisis which has recently been causing open dissatisfaction and concern of the allies.

The two sides stood against all forms of interference in Poland's internal affairs by imperialist circles who "through their diversionary propaganda campaign stimulate tension and conflicts and help internal opponents of socialism." It is the joint conclusion that these forces use the situation in Poland for attacks on the "socialist community" and for undermining its unity.

A Central Committee official assessed the Polish-Soviet talks as useful, but it could be concluded from his statement that certain differences remain and that the Soviet partners' reserve against some occurrences have not been fully eliminated. According to this assessment, the talks served for the CPSU leadership to become better acquainted with the situation not only in the country but above all in the party, which according to the same opinion, is normal.

Circles close to the Polish party leadership, however, concede that the Warsaw dialogue may influence to a certain extent the further development of events in Poland and especially in the PZPR. It is probably no accident that it was announced today, a few days before the plenum, that about 150,000 members have left the Polish party since the beginning of the crisis and that about 70,000 were expelled.

The need for consistency in realizing the course of socialist reconstruction was reiterated yesterday by Stanislaw Kania speaking at an extraordinary congress of Polish youth. He spoke categorically for a defense of the basic principles of socialism, but accompanied by a full development of democracy in the party and the state and an implementation of the reform in the economy and society.

Having in mind the forthcoming plenum, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said that "it is necessary honestly to assess the past in order to make the conclusions for the future, which should protect the country from a repetition of the crises."

ADDITIONS TO BORBA RESPONSE TO PRAVDA CRITICISM

The following additions to and rephrasing of the item entitled "BORBA Responds to PRAVDA Criticism of 'Bloc Policy'" published in the 27 April Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page I 17, were taken from BORBA of 26 April, thus providing text of the BORBA article:

On pages I 17 and I 18, replace the first three paragraphs of the item with the following passage:

"[Text] In an international situation which is the cause of such great anxiety of all people as well as the greatest number of the world's statesmen, it is a great satisfaction to establish that everything is not black, that all roads to peace, security and greater understanding among nations are not blocked and that a considerable number of responsible statesmen are able to find a common language in their views on overcoming various international difficulties.

"Among other things, we wish to point out the extraordinary degree of understanding and agreement that has been manifested in our country in recent days during the talks with such different statesmen and politicians as Romanian Prime Minister Verdet and West German politician Brandt.

"More Than the Balkans (Once Again)

"During talks with our representatives, concern was expressed over the increasing tensions in the world, tensions that are essentially of a bloc character, and attention was once again drawn to the dangers that threaten what is today of primary importance and most valuable, that is, freedom, independence, sovereignty and unhindered development within a more democratic international community than is the case now. This implies, among other things, that nothing is more urgent than eliminating force and pressure, that there is a real alternative to divisions and increasing tensions, and that there are real possibilities for solving acute problems and disputes by peaceful means.

"We especially wish to point out the efforts for ensuring the continuity of the CSCE and detente in general, for disarmament and a new economic system and for strengthening good-neighborly relations. It is of great importance for all Europe that in this international situation, Yugoslavia and Romania confirm their complete readiness to strive for further developing bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, and emphasize that the development of cooperation among the Balkan countries in all spheres of common interest, on the basis of equality and the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, contributes to strengthening good-neighborly relations and friendship in this region. Today the Balkans is a relatively stable region, thanks also to independent, strong and nonaligned Yugoslavia. However, it is not immune to various forms of undermining, pressure and other types of actions, or to the bloc rivalry.

"Thus we are all the more astonished that Moscow PRAVDA (in an article by V. Belyshev) found it necessary to polemize with our commentary on this topic published in this space 2 weeks ago.

"Yugoslavia does not and cannot stand outside everything that is taking place on the international scene, not only because of its geographical position but also, as we pointed out, because of its nonalignment and independence and other internal characteristics that make it an important international factor of peace and progress not only as regards East and West, but also as regards north and south, the Mediterranean, CSCE, the United Nations and, naturally, the Balkans, that is, wherever the struggle is waged for peace, independence and equality, for new relations and against any domination, interference or intervention."

Page I 18, make the second sentence of the fourth paragraph read:

"The author of the PRAVDA article opposes our commentary with the thesis about 'two opposing political directions' and the differences between them, as if nothing else existed outside this."

Page I 18, change the last sentence of paragraph five and the first sentence of paragraph six and insert a subhead as follows:

"This, then, is not an attitude based on equal distance or on a priori condemnation.

"Bloc Distances and Cooperation

"We have never equated the blocs on the basis of the time at which they were established nor on the basis of any other characteristics."

Page I 18, make paragraph eight read:

"In other words, we do not shut our eyes to the reality of the blocs in the present-day world, but have always striven to exert a constructive influence on relations between the great powers in the interest of overcoming the differences between the blocs and of cooperation between them in the settling of acute problems in the interest of broader, nonbloc concepts of universal detente and a democratization of international relations; in other words, in the interest of creating the conditions needed to overcome both the bloc policy and the blocs in international life."

MACEDONIAN LC SESSION NOTES 'FAVORABLE SECURITY'

AU281004 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 81

[Boris Mrdjovski report]

[Text] Here is a report on the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, by Boris Mrdjovski:

As Dimce Saveski, president of the Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, pointed out in his opening speech, these tasks were an integral part of the struggle by the working people and citizens and all organized socialist forces for economic stabilization, to strengthen the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, to further affirm the nonaligned policy and international prestige of Yugoslavia and for the resolute determination to persevere on Tito's road in the republic and all over the country.

Thanks to this, the present political security situation in the republic is favorable, and experience confirms that the more successfully the community is able to protect itself, including the struggle against one's own shortcomings, the more the possibilities for any surprises and threats to self-managing socialist development are diminished. Since our self-managing system has existed, it has been constantly facing forces and tendencies, externally and internally, the purpose of which is to undermine its foundations and corrode its strategic orientation.

This was also shown by the recent events in Kosovo; therefore, such and similar nationalist, irredentist and other occurrences demand of all subjects, and especially members, organizations and organs of the League of Communists, even better ideopolitical and action readiness, greater political vigilance and preparedness to oppose such activities.

Further at the session, issues of the ideopolitical concept of preparations for the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia were discussed. As Angel Cemerski, president of the Central Committee, pointed out, the broadest democratic working discussion of the communists of the republic will assess the activities so far and determine the further tasks of the communists in developing socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations.

A decision to introduce a 1-year term for the president of the Central Committee was also adopted today. It will be implemented as of the eighth congress of the Macedonian communists. Considering the significance, breadth and spirit of Comrade Tito's initiative, the experiences that will have been gained in overall practice will be analyzed by them, the statute will be supplemented and the advancement of collective work and responsibility will be ensured.

BRIEFS

KOSOVO CENSUS, ROAD BUILDING--Pristina, 16 Apr (TANJUG)--The provincial government of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo today established that the current population census is progressing successfully with citizens and census takers fully cooperating. The population and household census has been somewhat (?extended) in Kosovo and will last until April 20. The Kosovo provincial government today also reviewed possibilities for developing the road network in the province during the 1981-1985 medium-term period. It was established that excellent results were recorded in the construction and modernization of roads in the province in the past years. Over 1,200 kilometers or close to 70 percent of all major and regional roads in Kosovo are modern roads. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 16 Apr 81 LD]

MARCH 1981 EXPORTS--Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)--Yugoslav exports in March this year were 21.3 percent higher than in March a year ago. This helped to bring the exports increase in the first quarter to 5.6 percent. At the same time, 58.7 percent of imports were covered by exports, which was 6 percent more than a year ago. However, the export performance was about 10 percent below plan, and exports to Western countries are some 30 percent below plan. Exports to Western countries fell 21.3 percent in the first quarter, those to developing countries fell 8.2 percent, but those to socialist countries increased 41.3 percent. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 81 p 1 AU]

FLIGHTS TO CHICAGO--The Yugoslav airline JAT has received permission by U.S. authorities for another flight from Belgrade to Chicago via New York, beginning with next Saturday. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 81 p 8 AU]